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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2095

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EDITORIAL OUTLINES MAIN TASKS OF CIVIL DEFENSE COURSES

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 10, 1982

[Editorial: "With an Eye on the Main Tasks--The New Academic Year Begins"]

[Text] It was only a few days ago that the educational process began again in communes and workplaces. The opening of the new school year in the civil defense system is a good occasion for those active in civil defense to draw up a balance sheet for how far they have come and for outlining the new tasks for raising in future the efficacy of the instruction of the staffs, officials and units.

Certain successes were scored during the last academic year in solving the problems of defending the populace and the national economy. Now the staffs of the communes, municipalities and workplaces are handling the activities connected with the execution of tasks of rescue and emergency damage repair better. The staffs and offices of the Danubian communes and workplaces acquired considerable experience in organization and execution of prevention action to limit the consequences of flooding along the Danube and coping with the watery fury.

Now on the eve of the opening of a new academic year, the heads of Civil Defense, together with their staffs, are considering and planning a system of measures for raising to a higher level the preparation and readiness of the staffs, the officials, the units and the populace for action in a critical situation.

This year, too, the main lines of activity are linked with the preparation of the units and of the populace, with increasing the stability of workplaces, with perfecting the knowledge and ability of the staffs and personnel for directing rescue and urgent damage-repair work in areas of flood disaster in case of possible destruction of the walls of large reservoirs and similarly for protecting livestock, crops and agricultural products from modern means of destruction. This multifaceted activity requires every active member and staff of Civil Defense, every member and unit to assimilate thoroughly their operational duties and to maintain constant readiness for action in a critical situation, in conformity with the specific circumstances.

Increasing the theoretical knowledge and improving the practical habits of the executive and command staff is very important. The experience of the

previous academic year shows this. In many places where the preparation of the executive staff was inadequate, the problems of protecting the populace, livestock, the produce of agriculture and the national economy were not solved fully, or not to the necessary extent.

In order to achieve the goals set by the 12th BCP Congress for universal intensification, it is necessary that the achievements of science and technical progress be infused in the Civil Defense network and that the mechanization of labor be intensified by the execution of SNAVR [Rescue and Emergency Damage-repair Work]. The demands on the subjective side are exceptionally high, that is, increasing the role of the executives and commanders, of the party leadership in civil defense activity. This means that every civil defense task should be viewed in the context of other tasks set for economic and administrative managers.

In the subject material which is to be learned during the new academic year, there are some new aspects which attract our attention. It is anticipated, for example, that the subject of organizing and running SNAVR in flood areas, in case of destruction of the walls of large reservoirs will be assimilated. Assimilation of this subject is clearly imposed by the fact that in our country there are many reservoirs in each of which are kept tens and hundreds of millions of cubic meters of water. Some of these reservoirs are potential sources of especially dangerous consequences. In the zones of possible flooding are many public enterprises, settlements, livestock farms etc. This is why the transition to this subject matter in command-staff courses and civil defense courses will permit the investigation and clarification of a series of questions having practical significance for the condition of the reservoirs as well as measures which must be planned and executed by the appropriate staffs and personnel of Civil Defense in a critical situation.

It is anticipated that the new basic subject matter will be the organization and execution of measures for the protection of livestock, crops and agricultural products in a critical situation. This subject matter provides a suitable occasion for a deep analysis of why certain localities are lagging behind in the execution of measures for the protection of agriculture and for discovering a wealth of possibilities for introducing the newest achievements of scientific-technical progress into securing effective protection for agricultural production.

The transition to this subject matter doubtless will be made only in those communes, workplaces and municipalities and for those personnel and units which are in flood zones or whose operation involves the protection of livestock, crops and agricultural products. Elsewhere, where these problems are not a usual part of the operation of the staffs, officials and units in a critical situation, different subject matter will be introduced, relevant for their operation and designation.

The quality of the studies, training exercises, command-staff courses and courses in civil defense depends on the preparation and methodological ability of their directors in carrying out completely the tasks set them.

Immediately however, a question emerges: How should one proceed in communes or workplaces where there is no regular chief of staff and where the specialized training of the commanding group of the Civil Defense is unsatisfactory? Last year, an answer to this question was given in the Varna District. There an experiment which yielded good results was made with this type of commune: The courses were prepared under the methodological direction of specialists from the district staff or from the interdistrict school of the Civil Defense. In the city of Provadiia, under the direction of the commune party committee, with the methodological aid of the district Civil Defense staff, an exhibition was even put on about this kind of matter.

In this way, theory and practice are linked and one or another theoretical formulation is tested, and, on the other hand, the level of preparation of the active members of the Civil Defense is raised so that in a complicated situation they can act with maximal efficacy.

The problem of special preparation and methodological knowledge by the directors of studies in a time of scientific-technical progress and a revolution in military matters is a problem which is growing incredibly. It is no secret that the effectiveness and quality of the learning process are directly connected with and mutually dependent on the level of methodological preparation of the leaders and directors of the courses, as well as their ability to apply new methods and current technical means in the course of instruction. During the period of studies and other civil defense measures involving the masses, it is also possible to successfully use mobile agitation stations and centers for spreading knowledge about civil defense.

The plans of the staffs for the basic measures of civil defense for the academic year 1982/1983 have no doubt already been drawn up and ratified by the appropriate bodies and organizations. But during the last few days before the opening of the new academic year there are still opportunities for reviewing once again the basic measures, keeping in mind the tasks which have recently come up so that a place can be guaranteed them in the annual and monthly plans of the proper administrative and economic authorities of the party and public bodies and organizations in the communes, agroindustrial complexes and enterprises. In this way, more secure preconditions will be created so that the basic goals of civil defense become an inseparable part of the whole of their activity and that socialist competition in civil defense will embrace the total solution of the tasks which have been set.

The intensification of the direction of the party in civil defense activity is an important resource for raising its effectiveness; this means in the control and help which they will give their subordinate groups and branches and to the district, municipal and communal organs of Civil Defense to involve also representatives of the corresponding party organ. In this way, the party organs will receive first-hand information on the condition of civil defense activity and the bases for effective influence by the party will be created in the interest of successful achievement of the goals of protecting the populace and the economy.

During the new academic year, it is necessary to extract the maximal benefit from each course and training exercise of the practice of the staffs, officials and units in a critical situation. This will raise to an even higher level the preparation and readiness for civil defense.

## BULGARIA

### EDITORIAL PRAISES ZHIVKOV'S VIEWS ON HISTORY, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Dec 82 pp 1, 3

[Review of the book "Dvanadesetiyat Kongres na BKP i Po-Natatushnoto Izgrazhdane na Zreliya Sotsializum. Problemi, Zadachi, Podkhodi" [The 12th BCP Congress and the Further Building of Mature Socialism. Problems, Tasks, Approaches]. Partizdat, Sofia, 1982, 472 pages: "A Major Contribution to the Ideological Treasury of Socialism"]

[Text] The 12th BCP Congress raised the responsible task of converting from extensive to intensive development in material production and in all fields of life. Undertaking its implementation, the party carried out extensive and varied ideological, political and organizational work for the accelerated application of scientific and technical achievements, the new economic approach and its mechanism, and leading Bulgarian and worldwide experience and improving the political system and social relations and further enhancing the living standard of the people.

Today the activities of party, state, economic and social organs and organizations are taking place in a qualitatively new atmosphere. The problems, phenomena, processes and trends which have developed, as well as the stage reached in the development of production forces and socialist social relations and socialist democracy--generally speaking, in building mature socialism, required their prompt theoretical interpretation, summation and mastery and practical resolution. This objective law and need is a base for the development of the party's rich and dynamic ideological life over the past two years, a new peak of which are the reports, speeches and statements by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, as included in the collection under review.

Separately taken, these works are well known and familiar. As we consider them jointly, however, we discover that they acquire a new greater strength of scientific summation and vision, that they contain the irreversible logic of socialist development based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and objective laws, consistent with the dynamically changing social needs and specific conditions governing the building of a mature socialist society in our country.

The theoretical elaborations and practical approaches found in the speeches, reports and statements by Comrade Todor Zhivkov are a vivid manifestation and



summation of the collective theoretical and practical activities of the party in the elaboration of exceptionally important problems related to our economy, politics, culture, moral and social areas, and so on. They show the rich content of the current stage in the building of socialism and provide an answer to all ripe specific problems. They outline the approaches and ways and means for their practical solution. The new theoretical formulations of Comrade Todor Zhivkov are a further extension and development, and enrichment and concretizing of the resolutions of the congress and the party's general April policy as an example of the creative application of the Marxist-Leninist principles in accordance with the specific conditions prevailing in Bulgaria.

This makes Comrade Todor Zhivkov a worthy continuator of a splendid tradition in the party's history and its ability promptly to discover, sum up and resolve ripe problems and properly to guide social processes and traditions created by Dimitur Blagoev and his fellow workers, leading to the great accomplishments of Georgi Dimitrov. The life and struggle of the party have always been governed on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory. This is one of the main prerequisites which led the people to the victorious 9 September 1944 and the triumph of the socialist revolution.

Our first party and state leader frequently takes specific historical events as a basis for his thoughts, summations and ideas. This is not only due to the circumstance that the past 2 years have been saturated with events of great national and international significance. Using the power of publicism and scientific arguments, the author convinces the reader and listener of the exceptional significance of history as an inexhaustible source of examples and ideas related to the class-party, patriotic and international upbringing of the working people and the instructions and conclusions related to the present and future of socialist Bulgaria. He provides a scientifically reliable and politically accurate interpretation of important events and facts, of Bulgarian contribution to the theory and practice of socialism, and of the international communist and workers movements in history. His starting point is the maxim according to which the present is inseparable from the past and the future from both the past and the present. The author offers an overall exhaustive and realistic characterization of the Bulgarian people whose basic features are a struggling and revolutionary spirit, democracy, thirst for education and knowledge, humanism and readiness to share its social experience and accomplishments with other peoples, industriousness, patriotism, internationalism, love of freedom, respect for the rights and freedoms of all countries and peoples, friendliness and love of peace and inexhaustible historical optimism.

"Our people," we read in his remarkable "A Word About Bulgaria," "have self-respect and respect their own achievements and history. We are proud of the fact that 'we too have given something to the world.' However, national arrogance is alien to us. We respect the order in someone else's house and are thankful to anyone who has helped us. We do not claim possession of someone else's merits or history, finding ours sufficient" (page 150).

The thoughts expressed on the question of history and historical events help us to gain a better understanding of the present and to clarify the future. To a great extent they are the key to the adoption and interpretation of the ideas and concepts included in the works under review.

The main feature in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's works is the treatment of topical problems of socialist construction, considered in depth and on a long-term basis. This is because in the course of our development new theoretical and practical problems arise, which must be resolved by the party and the state promptly and creatively.

The measure, and the basic and decisive problem of our development, the author emphasizes, is the laying of our own material and technical base for a developed socialist society on the level of contemporary scientific and technical progress and the scientific and technical revolution. In practical terms this means the application of comprehensive automation through the building of automated cybernetic systems in production and other social areas. This calls for the accelerated development of electronics, robotics and instrument manufacturing and the timely training of necessary cadres.

However, this is not merely a question of laying a material and technical base on the level of the scientific and technical revolution but of the proper management of the latter, its use in such a way as to achieve maximal efficiency. Only thus could we achieve high labor productivity and the accelerated development of the entire social system, and meet more completely the steadily growing material and spiritual needs of the people on the basis of the socialist principles of economic management.

Hence the need for a new method for posing, developing and relating to practical accomplishments of the problem of socialist property and its owner and manager. Substantively and logically the author leads to the thesis that the forms of socialist ownership are not frozen but are in a process of steady change, interpenetration, enrichment and rapprochement. Although the state and cooperative forms have still not entirely merged, actual results have already been achieved to the effect that the true owner of both forms is the state as the representative of the people. The need accurately to define the rights, obligations and tasks of the state as the owner and of the working class, the agricultural workers and all labor collectives as managers is becoming urgent. The state, as instructed by the people and carrying out the functions ascribed to it by the people, has the duty to develop, increase and guide socialist ownership in the interest of every one. It issues the state plan, ratifies the legal norms and basic economic management standards, and provides the basic plan indicators. From there on the labor collectives have the obligation to manage this property with maximal efficiency and to multiply and develop it in their own and the people's interest, and to formulate and carry out specific counterplans. This logic leads us to the theoretically and practically interesting viewpoint of the development of the counterplan as an instrument of social management and as a form and means for broadening socialist democracy and an accomplishment of the labor collective.

Particularly important in this case, when we distinguish among the functions of the owner and the manager, is to take into consideration the requirements of the law of value and of commodity-monetary relations, without which no successful and efficient economic management is possible at the present stage. It is on this basis that the new economic approach and new economic mechanism are

being developed, the full application and effect of which is a prime political and economic task. The main feature here is to apply the principle of cost effectiveness and self-financing of the socialist economic organizations. Wages must become a residual value and their payment must be truly based on the quantity and quality of the labor invested. Naturally, without underestimating ideological and management factors, only thus can we achieve unity between the economic rights and the responsibilities of the manager for end results and ensure the better combination of personal, collective and public interests.

"This precisely is the entire philosophy with which we must be familiar....," the author emphasizes. "This must be familiar to the millions of people in our country, for it is not only of economic but of tremendous ideological and educational significance" (page 191).

Mastering the philosophy of the 12th congress at the present stage in building a developed socialist society is a prerequisite for the successful solution of a number of specific problems such as the development of the brigade organization of a new type, and enhancing profit as a major criterion of the work of all economic organizations and labor collectives.

The ideas, stipulations and conclusions drawn by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, related to concretizing, enriching and implementing the party's socioeconomic strategy, are one more proof of the permanent value of Lenin's idea that the economy of the new society will inevitably develop over a long period on the basis of commodity-monetary relations, governed by the law of value and related economic levers and the variety of forms through which the nations will come to socialism.

Formulations related to the legitimate process of the objective need steadily to improve socialist social relations and socialist democracy are distinguished by the vital power of this Leninist thought and the creative application of Marxist-Leninist principles under the specific conditions of the Bulgarian People's Republic. Here again the author considers the facts and phenomena comprehensively, in their dialectical interconnection.

"All of us must consider it elemental that one cannot successfully manage the economy without the most active participation of millions of working people," Comrade Todor Zhivkov says. "The new economic approach and its mechanism which we are creating must become the powerful foundation for the blossoming of socialist democracy in Bulgaria" (page 193).

He outlines in his works the basic directions of the work aimed at the further expansion of socialist democracy and upgrading the role of labor collectives, sociopolitical organizations and conurbation systems in social management.

Today the counterplan must become the project of the labor collective in the full meaning of the term, in terms of its formulation involving the participation of every working person and by being voted on and carried out by every single person. We must enhance the role, rights and responsibilities of the collective organs of economic organizations and enterprises. The study of

public opinion must be considered not only as a possibility of ensuring rich social information and a manifestation of respect for the people but also an important element in social management. Work with critical remarks, suggestions and recommendations is a means for resolving topical problems and tasks.

The efforts aimed at achieving a new upsurge in socialist democracy are directed both toward upgrading the material force and initiative of the primary units in the state-political and economic structure, among which particular attention is being paid to the obshtina and the labor collective, as well as improving representative democracy by assigning essentially new functions to a number of state organs, ministries for example, and the further development of the socio-state and state-social principle in management. An interesting theoretical and practical aspect is the one proving the expediency of granting broader economic rights to conurbation systems, thus enabling them to resolve the problems of the labor collective and the toiling man.

The new stipulations regarding the increased rights and responsibilities of sociopolitical organizations, as exceptionally important units within the political system and as a social motive force of development, are of basic importance. The need to expand political guarantees in developing the economic foundations of socialist democracy means to assign to the Bulgarian trade unions the role of social guarantor of the proper application of the new economic mechanism and the observance of the new rights and obligations of the labor collective; to the Dimitrov Komsomol--for the implementation of party policy and increasing progress and more efficient realization of the possibilities of the youth and energizing its role in life; the Fatherland Front is assigned the task of ensuring the proper functioning of the obshtinas and conurbation systems, and the local people's organs.

The development of socialist democracy is considered by the author as an exceptionally important prerequisite for upgrading the political consciousness and social activeness of the working people as well as their contribution to the implementation of the congress' decisions and the party's policy.

The main direction in the comprehensive guiding activities of the party is the struggle for establishing favorable foreign policy conditions for building a developed socialist society. Comrade Todor Zhivkov's works have frequently stressed the invariable and consistent foreign policy course of the BCP and the Bulgarian People's Republic--a course of peace, peaceful coexistence and understanding and mutually profitable cooperation. In all occasions, the author has always heavily emphasized that our foreign policy is based on the solid foundations of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, responsibility for the unity and cohesion of the international communist and workers movements, and friendship and fraternal cooperation with the socialist countries, the Soviet Union above all.

"...The Soviet Union was and remains the main hope and support, the banner in the great struggle waged by the people for peace, freedom, democracy and communism," Comrade Todor Zhivkov stated in his speech at the international theoretical conference on the occasion of the centennial of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov (page 372).

The approach to facts and phenomena---comprehensive and differentiated, scientific and innovative, specific and creative, and imbued with profound realism---makes a strong impression in the works of Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

He depicts socialist reality as it is rather than as we would like to see it. Difficulties, weaknesses and problems still exist, caused by objective and subjective reasons. We still come across the so-called "petty truth." Contradictions between the owner and the manager of socialist property, between the new lofty requirements concerning production forces and labor productivity and the level of the material and technical base reached in our country, between centralism and decentralism in management, and between the state and cooperative forms of ownership, as well as a number of contradictions exclusively caused by subjective reasons in consumer services, the distribution of material goods, implementation of rights and responsibilities, and so on, still appear in our society.

There also are "vicious circles" in which we find ourselves. Despite our successes, the extensive development of the economy goes on. Despite the measures we take, raw materials, materials and energy are still being wasted. Manpower is not used at full capacity. Major problems exist in connection with the utilization of scientific achievements. Not all opportunities in agriculture are being used. The communist education of the youth and its practice are frequently alienated from practical life, accompanied by a great deal of formalism, and so on.

Contradictions and "vicious circles" exist and the struggle against them and their consequences has never stopped. This is one of the factors of our development. The essential feature in the party's approach to them today is not to eliminate the consequences or restrict the negative impact of the contradictions but to identify and to surmount the reasons, and the implementation of measures for resolving development problems. The approach taken by our party in assessing any phenomenon or resolving any problem has always been effective and realistic.

The writings in this collection represent a substantial theoretical and practical wealth. They offer a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of processes and phenomena in building a mature socialist society. Topical problems are interpreted and resolved creatively and innovatively. Means leading to the further development and implementation of the Leninist April general party line are described.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speeches, reports and statements are a new major contribution to the theory and practice of socialism and of our communist cause. They are the spiritual wealth of the party and the people, which provides powerful incentives for thought and action. They have the significance of a long-term program and a practical manual in the work and struggle for the further building of mature socialism.

KAPEK ON IMPORTANCE OF IDEOLOGY

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 23, 8 Nov 82 pp 16-18

[Article by Antonin Kapek, a member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Prague Municipal CPCZ Committee: "Timely Tasks in the Ideological and Political Education of Communists"]

[Text] One of the key tasks in asserting and intensifying the party's leading role under the present conditions of building developed socialism in our country is the strengthening of the party members' communist awareness, their systematic ideological education. The fulfillment of such tasks as the economy's intensification on the basis of scientific and technological progress, the ensuring of qualitatively new approaches to the planned management of the economy and of social development, the assertion of socialist values in the people's way of life, and the intensification of socialist education places on our party the requirement to solve creatively and in a principled manner all the problems of building developed socialism, in theory as well as in practice.

The need to arm all Communists with a thorough knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory and party policy, to teach them to be everyday propagandists and persistent fighters for the realization of this theory and policy, stems also from the fact that real socialism, the prospects of its development, and its present tasks and problems are increasingly in the center of ideological struggle. The basic contradiction of the present world, the contradiction between socialism and capitalism, manifests itself today in the field of ideology primarily as ideological struggle over real socialism. For not just "socialism in general" --i.e., abstract ideas divorced from real life--but the real socialism that actually exists in the Soviet Union, in our country and in the other countries of the socialist community, is the principal flagbearer of peace and progress in the world, the basic motive force of the world revolutionary process.

Therefore the Prague Municipal Party Committee is devoting special attention to the ideological education of Communists. It emphasizes that the municipal party organizations master, within the system for ideologically arming the members, Marxism-Leninism as a creative doctrine, that they learn to apply the methods of Marxist-Leninist thinking in practice, so that their theoretical knowledge may be transformed into their firm Communist conviction, into active party attitudes.

Party education plays an important role in arming Communists ideologically. In recent years, therefore, we have strived to include an ever-greater number of the municipal party organization's members in the higher forms of party education (last year their proportion was 70 percent), and to use more extensively the activizing forms of working with the students, in order to improve the training and effectiveness of the aktiv of propagandists. These are approaches that we intend to further reinforce and develop. But at the same time we must also solve certain shortcomings in this area of party work, and ensure the fulfillment of the higher requirements and increasing tasks in conjunction with strengthening the party's leading role and expanding its membership base.

We are upgrading first of all the ideological training of the candidates for party membership and of the young party members. The proportion of young Communists within the party has increased significantly and is still growing. Since the 14th CPCZ Congress, we have admitted over 56,000 new members in Prague, and their proportion within the plant organizations is already 40 percent of the total membership base in the capital. To educate the young Communists thoroughly for political work, to train good propagandists, agitators and organizers from among them, and to prepare them for party and public office are important political and ideological tasks for all party organs and every local party organization.

The point is that all young Communists master the principles of Marxism-Leninism, that they be thoroughly familiar with the policy of our party, with its history, with the Leninist principles of its organization and activity, and with the party by-laws. We are devoting long-term attention and care to this task in the training of young Communists. We are placing special emphasis on the selection of the propagandists and lecturers who are teaching in the schools for young Communists. Here we should have propagandists who are aware that to acquaint the young Communists with the historical experience of our party, with the principles of its organization and activity, and with its tasks in society, is one of the most honorable and responsible party tasks. Only Communists with great enthusiasm and a high sense of party responsibility can be assigned to this task.

A no less important task in party education is to ensure the good ideological and political training of the party aktiv. Over 27,000 comrades are working in the committees of the local party organizations and within the party organs in Prague. Over 11,000 Communists hold office in the leading party groups, and thousands more are working in the party aktivs and commissions, in social organizations belonging to the National Front, and in the national committees. All these officials perform very demanding functions in preparing and implementing party resolutions and in controlling their fulfillment, and they carry grave responsibility for the realization of party policy. On their work depends the quality of the functioning of the local party organizations' committees, of the party groups and membership meetings, and to a large extent also the overall level of asserting the party's leading role and of ensuring the objectives of its policy in all areas of society. Therefore they must have a thorough knowledge of party policy and Marxist-Leninist theory, and they must study constantly to improve the quality and effectiveness of political work and to learn how to implement party policy under specific conditions. Therefore we must upgrade their training and combine party education more closely with the problems of management and of organizational work.

Parallel with the increased attention devoted to the ideological and political training of candidates for party membership, and of the young Communists and

party aktiv, we are also striving to achieve that party education train all Communists, every member of the party, better than up to now for mass political work among nonmembers. This requires combining closely the study of Marxist-Leninist theory with the most specific knowledge of party policy, with studying the content of the party documents and resolutions. Into party education we wish to bring also such methods of work that lead to the study of the party documents themselves and develop the ability to argue and to agitate.

After all, the ideological training of Communists and mass political work are two connected vessels. Party policy is indisputably correct. But the point is to implement it consistently so that every citizen will know what we want, and how we intend to overcome the obstacles and solve the problems. In the people it is necessary to constantly reinforce their conviction that the problems we are encountering can be solved and that we will be able to solve them. This requires informal and intensive mass political work, in the spirit of Gottwald's admonition "Face the Masses," which remains timely even today.

Therefore we completely reject the work style of those who submit proposals for measures and resolutions merely from their desks, without knowing the views, interests and needs of the workers, and without carefully analyzing and solving them. We criticize also those comrades who conceal their passivity, convenience and reluctance to speak with nonmembers about the everyday problems bothering them, with excuses of lacking sufficient information and the necessary experience.

We often find that the committees of the local party organizations are not devoting the necessary attention to mass political work and are failing to include in it the economic officials and managers, foremen, and the trade-union and youth organizations. The main cause of this situation in most cases is that many party officials approach ideological work perfunctorily, direct it only in general and do not bother to evaluate its effectiveness. Therefore we are striving to make everyone realize that the party's political work among the masses is a part of asserting its leading role, that the proper orientation and truly mass-scale influence of the party's political work are essential to better fulfilling the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress. At the same time we must be fully aware that if mass political work is to be truly effective, it must be combined with organizational work.

The Prague Municipal Party Committee is striving to further improve mass political work by guiding the party organizations in performing this work in a differentiated manner, with due consideration for the social structure of the capital's population. In our opinion, one of the principal ways of making political work among the masses more effective is to gain a better understanding of this social structure, a more detailed knowledge of interests, views, ideological and political attitudes of the individual social groups, and on this basis to develop among them long-term programs of political and ideological work and agitation.

At the beginning of next year we will be holding the annual membership meeting of the local party organizations, and the party conferences. We will see to it that we prepare for them already now so that they become demanding reviews of the work to date in fulfilling the resolutions of the 16th CPCZ Congress, everywhere in a spirit of criticism and self-criticism. Only in this way can we mobilize the Communists for the complete realization of party policy, in all areas of society's life and at every workplace.



An important contribution to the preparations for the annual membership meetings and party conferences is the discussion, within every local party organization, of the results of the Prague Municipal Party Committee's April session devoted to the tasks of ideological work. The municipal party committee attaches great importance to these discussions, scheduled for completion by the end of November. It emphasizes that the discussions require careful preparation everywhere, so that they may lead to specific and meaningful measures. And not only at the annual membership meetings, but also within the party groups and the all-plant party committees.

The task of the party committees is primarily to evaluate how all the measures are being fulfilled that the local party organizations adopted in the area of ideology to ensure the conclusions of the Central Committee's 15th session, and of the 16th CPCZ Congress. The membership meetings will evaluate also the ideological and political situation at the individual workplaces, and they will use the conclusions of these evaluations in preparing for the annual membership meetings.

At the meetings preceding the annual membership meetings, the party organizations will consider also the fulfillment of the plan for mass political work and will set its principal targets for 1983. In this context the meetings will evaluate how the individual Communists have worked politically and whether everyone has been assigned a specific party task in mass political work. We are trying to achieve that the local party organization specify for every member what questions he will be explaining systematically and to whom, with whom he will be talking daily about the political tasks and party policy. At the same time we will strive to ensure the prerequisites for giving every Communist a long-term outlook of further political education.

These meetings will unquestionably prepare many of the questions that can then be solved finally at the annual membership meetings, and most of all they will help to upgrade the work of every local party organization.

Extensive mass political work is underway in Prague these weeks, to commemorate the 65th anniversary of the Great October Revolution and the 60th anniversary of the Soviet Union's formation. This is the main content of this year's traditional Month of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship. We know very well how much these anniversary mean for our nations. We are striving to bring the timely significance of these anniversaries closer to every citizen of the capital and to the young people in particular, so as to further strengthen the friendship between our people and the Soviet people, between the residents of Prague and those of Moscow. To mark the coming 35th anniversary of Victorious February, therefore, we are preparing in Moscow the already traditional Week of Prague, which will help to further strengthen cooperation between the two capitals.

We will worthily commemorate the 35th anniversary of Victorious February also in Prague. On the occasion of this anniversary we will first of all review critically our present work, seek reserves and possibilities for the further development of our socialist society, and look with optimism into the future. For the accumulated heritage of February 1948 is now embodied in the requirement to build a developed socialist society in Czechoslovakia. In this we see also our main contribution to the struggle for lasting peace and for averting the threat of a nuclear war.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED 'CONCEPT OF ENEMY' SEEN COMPATIBLE WITH CHRISTIAN LOVE ETHIC

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 184, 3 Dec 82 pp 2, 3

[Report from Berlin: "East German Protestant Journal Defends SED Concept of Enemy." A translation of the East Berlin STANDPUNKT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The East Berlin Protestant monthly STANDPUNKT [VIEWPOINT] (No 11, 1982) has justified the "enemy image" publicized by SED propaganda as compatible with Christian ethics, and has in this connection warned of the "disastrous consequences" of uncriticized miscellaneous interrelations between the human level and the political level. On the political level "communist policy endeavors to bring about a just, exact and scientifically founded enemy image." This policy is directed against "imperialism and its most aggressive organizations and forms" --but not against specific persons. "This good policy" contributes to making peace and is therefore "compatible with the Christian commandment of loving one's enemy." The request of the Protestant Church in the GDR "to scrutinize enemy images used by ourselves and others" cannot imply "not to have enemy images of imperialism and NATO," explained this journal which is close to the views of the CDU (East).

GDR Protestant Journal's Analysis

East Berlin STANDPUNKT in German Vol 10 No 11, Nov 82 p 285 [Article by Dr Folkert Schroeder: "Love Of One's Enemy"]

[Text] The follow-up committee of the Protestant Pastors Conference in the GDR has convened the 13th Protestant Pastors Conference for 26-27 April 1983 in Dresden. The main theme of the conference reports and work groups will be: "To make peace--under the direction of the Bible and with political expertise." This topic deals with the currently so urgent question, often asked in churches, of finding ways to promote and preserve peace.

The Christian commandment "love your enemy", taken from the gospel of Matthew, has given me problems for a long time because in past and present times it has

often been directed at the oppressed and far less often at the oppressors, and I know that this commandment remains a puzzle to many people outside the churches because too often the oppressed were in this connection understood to be the "unbelievers", i.e., members of the workers movement. Jesus, however, addressed this commandment specifically to the believers who saw the pagans as their enemies.

I am then expected to love my enemies. What do I do when I love somebody? I try to get to know him. I try to get an idea of why he has developed in a particular way and why he reacts in a certain manner to some things and differently to others. I want to know his limitations in order to counsel him when he does things that are not good for him. This image should be as indefinite as possible, and I would prefer to form a new one every day and would be anxious to look for changes in it.

If this is the way I deal with my enemy, if I form an image of him for myself, then this is an enemy image. No gospel tells us: "You should have no enemy." In this matter we have no choice. Neither does the gospel tell us that we should have no enemy image. Lack of knowledge of our neighbor and lack of interest in him, including the enemy, are an injustice done to him and are close to what Schweitzer refers to as "Thoughtlessness as the greatest sin." "Enemy image" per se is no negative concept, but it can become one when it turns into a cliché through misrepresentation and fixation. How much injustice would we do, e.g., to Billy Graham if today we would still see in him the cliché enemy image of the "machine gun of God!"

To quote Berthold Brecht: "What are you doing," Mr. Keuner was asked, "when you love a person?" -- "I make a design of him," said Mr. K., "and I see to it that it is like him." -- "What? The design?" -- "No," said Mr. K., "the person."

I believe that these sentences by Brecht if one interprets them differently than usual could be close to what I just said about the enemy image. This design is no imposition of force on the other person but is rather like a drawing made by an artist of a building in which the essential features are represented. This drawing, then, is the design of the best possible version of the object. This leads inevitably to the point where we deal with the contradictions that everybody has within himself, the things that are contrary to his nature and because of which he often struggles with himself in order to become like (faithful to) his design (nature).

I think that all of this applies to the inter-human level. It means for the value sequence of my actions: 1. dialog, 2. dialog, 3. dialog. It does not exclude a provocative attitude but rather requires it. But the fight will not be like one with people shooting from ambush but more like a "wrestling match," a wrestling for something through mutual dialog.

When we love somebody we try to prevent him, should the occasion arise, from harming himself, from doing wrong or even committing a crime. And because we love him we do this not in order to harm him, do him an injustice, or even commit a crime against him. If we did this, it would fall under the concepts

of terror or anarchist tactics such as we got to know them from the Bader-Meinhof group.

This example also shows us the disastrous results of an uncritical miscellaneous use of the inter-human level and a completely different level, the political one.

On the social/political level, communist policy is trying to develop a just, exact and scientifically founded enemy image. This effort then reveals that there is no room here for individual terror, that socio-economical and social structures are part of this enemy image and apply to a much smaller degree to the specific person holding the president's office. It then becomes clear that our enemy image aims at imperialism and its most aggressive organizations and forms--and not at an individual like Ronald Reagan or Menachem Begin even if these people, like everybody else, must be responsible for what they do. On the inter-human level, rigid fixation of a wrong image misses the enemy image. On the social level, personification of the enemy image misses reality.

This good policy which contributes to making peace is for me compatible with the Christian commandment to love one's neighbor. If the synod of my church requests "that we scrutinize enemy images used by ourselves and others," then this can only mean for me to examine again and again whether my enemy image is correct, corresponds with reality and therefore is a true precondition for actions supporting peace. It does not mean for me not to have an enemy image in regard to imperialism and NATO. It also implies that as Christians and churches we need not have an enemy image where there are no enemies at all: on the left.

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CSO: 2300/89

SHIP'S ENGINE OFFICER TRAINING DESCRIBED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 6, 1982 (signed to press 14 Sep 82) pp 293-294

['MT Introduces' feature article by Navy Capt S John, engineer, economist; CO, Ship's Engineer Officer Department, Karl Liebknecht Officer College of the People's Navy: "'Karl Liebknecht' Officer College of the People's Navy, Ship's Engine Officer Department"]

[Text] The Ship's Engineer Officer Department at the GDR Navy Officer College is responsible for the education and continued training of watch engineers and commanders of engine battle stations on ships and boats of the GDR Navy.

Faithful to the memory of Karl Liebknecht and to the revolutionary traditions of red sailors, the members of the department see their main task in training military specialists who are faithfully dedicated to the party of the working class, are educated in communist traditions, are prepared for all-around service in the fleet, and are ready and able to meet with honor the challenges of the military service.

1. Ship's Engine Officer--A Responsible Military Profession

The position of ship's engine officer offers many-sided challenges. They appeal to the "whole man." He is characterized by firm communist convictions, an extensive knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, military leadership qualities, a comprehensive knowledge of engineering, and a love of the sea, all of which will enable him and his unit to contribute to the effective battle condition of his ship.

As commander of the engine battle station (also called GA V) the ship's engine officer is responsible on board for

- the power plant,
- every kind of energy production and distribution,
- the ship's systems and equipments that guarantee stability and the ship's safety,
- the condition of the part of the ship below the water line and
- the fuel on board ship.

The technology entrusted to him is in a way the heart of the warship and is of great value. His ability to maintain and fully utilize the constructive qualities and the parameter of this technology is of essential importance to the action capacity and maneuverability of the warship. On his ability also depends the strength of the ship in case of an enemy action or an accident at sea.

While he is in charge of the GA V, the ship's engine officer must find solutions for many-sided, complex problems. This makes it necessary for him to handle in scientific manners the complex problems of effective utilization and maintenance of the engine plant under routine as well as battle conditions.

The GA V commander is the superior of the officers, cadets, mates and seamen of the engine plant battle stations, he is in charge of the electronic and pumping equipment as well as ship's safety detail. He must train and educate his men politically, militarily and in their special fields so that they can fulfill their battle functions under all conditions as a closely knit unit.

Special demands are made of his physical abilities, his moral steadfastness and psychological stability. This is due to the fact that members of the GA V do their work in narrow, closed off spaces, often under considerable stress due to noise and heat. They must be ready at any time to go into action under conditions involving the use of weapons of mass destruction, and to fight water leaks and fires.

The ship's engine officer is also responsible for the continual technical readiness of his sector. This includes continual maintenance and care as well as repairs on board and in port, the technical and technological preparations for dockings and in-dock repairs, and the observance of standards of technical safety and work protection. Last but not least, he must be able to maintain the buoyancy, maneuverability and energy supply of the ship in case of damage or breakdowns due to enemy or battle action. This task requires the most exact knowledge of technology, of its possibilities and wiring alternatives, as well as the ability to improvise when necessary and to keep the GA V functioning by applying original technical solutions. Creative engineering mental ability is therefore a quality in high demand.

The responsibility of a ship's engine officer on board can be summarized as follows: as the political, military and specialty trainer, educator and superior he must guarantee at any time with his battle unit the battle readiness as well as the maintenance and restoration of battle readiness of the fighting equipment in his charge.

This equipment represents in essential aspects the most modern state of science and technology. Scientific-technological progress results in ever more modern solutions of better quality. High efficiency diesel engines and gas turbine equipment have been introduced in ship's power plants, entire processes and systems have been automated with the help of electrical, electronic, hydraulic and pressurized equipment. In addition to electronic

equipment, micro-electronic and computer technology has become more and more important. Modern stabilizing and air conditioning equipment in ships meets the needs of the greater intensity of action at sea in our times. Last but not least, modern telecommunication, information and data processing technology on the bridge make high demands of a GA V commander.

## 2. Course Contents

Healthy young men who love their socialist fatherland and have a specific interest in modern technology and navigation are well prepared for training as future ship's engine officers.

Conditions for study at the Ship's Engine Officer Department are completion of secondary school, completed professional training and premilitary navy training in the GST [Society for Sport and Technology]. Specialists in such basic professions as factory machinist or electrician, or similar skills, can get a secondary school diploma after one-year course at the Officer College.

Beginning in 1983, those who have completed a four-year college course by passing the final examination and defending their certificate thesis will be commissioned lieutenants with a degree as certified engineers. Afterwards, depending on their specialization during the fourth year of study, they will serve on board of a ship with either diesel engine power or gas turbine or a combination power plant.

Outlined study contents include a thorough training in social sciences for the future ship's engine officers. This training continues over 4 years and its content is part of the final examination. In these 4 years there is simultaneous instruction in military and naval subjects such as riflery, military physical education, protection against mass extermination weapons, medical training, routine duty organization, tactics and armaments of naval forces, navigation training, international sea law and military geography. In foreign language training Russian and English are offered.

Of special importance is a good command of Russian where training is concluded with a degree in language proficiency. The reason for the importance of this course is that Russian is the common language of command in the joint Baltic fleet of the Warsaw Pact. A ship's engine officer is also responsible for the most modern Soviet technology and he must understand technical documents in the original language. Therefore Russian is used as the language of instruction in specialized courses.

For many years there have been partnership relations between the Ship's Engine Officer Department and similar departments at officer training colleges of the Soviet and Polish navies, there have been personal contacts during fleet visits and training cruises which underline the necessity of a good knowledge of Russian and which have resulted in a deepening of brotherly understanding among the respective armed forces.

An essential content of the course of study in specific technical sciences is the thorough training in mathematics and physics. It develops the capacity to think in abstract terms, it provides the means to evaluate technical facts in quantitative terms and it gives an insight into structure and laws of the natural sciences. Courses in the foundations of electronics as well as in methods of measuring, steering and standardization create conditions for understanding modern automatic steering equipments in the ship's engine plant. An introductory course to modern computer technology helps officer candidates to make engineering computations with the aid of modern calculators.

The instructors in the Ship's Engine Officer Department also teach courses in the basic technical components of the ship's power plant. The fields of technical mechanics and the science of solids deal with, among other things, the laws and methods of statics and dynamics, with the science of vibration, with the basic facts of friction and erosion as well as with the solidity of building components of engines and naval equipment. The structure, quality and economic use of technical materials are the essential content of the courses in building materials technology and fuel technology.

According to its importance on modern battleships, electronic technology plays an important role in the training of a ship's engine officer. This training continues throughout the entire course of study and is part of the final examination. It begins with a course in the foundations of electronics and afterwards provides officer candidates with extensive knowledge in the fields of electrical machines, power plants, equipments, of installations for providing and distributing electrical energy, of electrical-mechanical energy changes, the production of heat, transmission of signals and the magnetic protection of the ship itself.

The reliable operation of electrical equipment determines to a large degree the fighting capacity of a ship or boat of our navy. The effective use of this equipment and the maintenance of its safe functioning, therefore, require a thorough knowledge of the interaction among the electrical equipment on board, the electrical engine, switches and mechanical machines. Under conditions of enemy action it is necessary to be prepared to exchange machine components.

Many power and work components contribute to the propulsion and energy supply of a battleship. The ship's engine officer must be in complete control of the operation of high efficiency diesel engines, gas turbines as well as pumps, condensers and ventilators of the most different kinds. This requires thorough knowledge of the technical aspects of heat and aerodynamics as well as extensive knowledge of the construction, operation and the potential uses of piston and hydraulic engines.

An essential part of the ship's engine officer's area of responsibility is the safety of the ship's technology. The focal point here is the planning, organization and implementation of ship maintenance. This requires good knowledge in the function, construction, dependability and durability of engine components. The ability to draw designs, read technical drawings and wiring diagrams, as well as the use of the TGL [state standards] and



the GOST [Soviet state standards] norms are in a way a part of the tools of a future ship's engine officer. Officer candidates learn the theory and practice of repair technologies including methods of gluing, casting and laminating technology. In a final practical course, officer candidates become acquainted with the tasks, structure, technology and organization of a shipyard.

Navigation theory deals with the laws of ship resistance, propulsion and stability under different static and dynamic conditions. A course in ship safety instructs officer candidates in the knowledge and abilities of theoretical and practical battle training. The main content of this course consists of the possibilities and methods of an effective use of all capacities and means to maintain or restore the ship's actual and fighting strength, and its technical safety. During training exercises in the ship's safety trainer which correspond to real battle conditions and deal with water leaks and fires, officer candidates get used to acting unafraid and prudently under extreme physical and psychological stress.

The course in ship engine operation deals with possibilities and methods of the effective use of the engine plant that will result in fulfillment of the ship's battle objectives. In this course officer candidates become acquainted with the tactical-technical qualities and operations of the ship's engine plant, they learn about the interaction of the propulsion and energy complex with all auxiliary engines and aggregates. Other parts of this course are battle organization and training in the engine department, engine operation en route and in battle, and engine surveillance. This course of instruction concludes with the final examination.

Before the final examination, officer candidates must prove their ability to apply in practice what they have learned in the different courses, during a fleet practicum that lasts several weeks and is definitely the high point of the entire training process.

### 3. Final Remarks

There are five science oriented curricula of instruction in which officer candidates, guided by experienced officer instructors, must solve scientific problems related to the subject matter of the respective curriculum.

Laboratories, research carrels and training facilities make it possible for officer candidates to put theoretical knowledge to practical use and to do independent scientific work. These instruction facilities are constantly upgraded. This is the main area of our innovation work. At the present time, a great number of our officer candidates are working in 28 innovation collectives. In cooperation with instructors and assistants they deal with complex problems. It is their goal to make training more effective and intensive, and to be able to implement innovation work on board. Engineers in the fleet are primarily responsible for applying modernization processes to greater fighting strength and battle readiness, for intensifying battle training and for the implementation of the decision of the 10th Party Congress in the field of military economy.

By making purposeful progress in their field and being increasingly effective in practical application, the Ship's Engine Officer Department and its instructors are on the road toward becoming the scientific center of the GDR Navy. This is the goal of our scientific work which is done in coordination with navy requirements and is directed toward the solution of practical naval problems. Our main challenge lies in mastering the requirements made of the comprehensive education of future navy officers and their service in the fleet, a challenge accentuated by the enormous speed of scientific-technical progress in military matters by the ever changing relations between man and technology. Focal points of our research work, therefore, are the development of an engine operation training installation and the problems of technical diagnosis on ship's diesel engines.

At the present time, all members of the Department are concentrating their efforts to attain the new quality of officer training demanded by the 12th Delegates Conference of the SED party organizations in the NVA and GDR Border Troops. In our socialist competition we have set high goals for ourselves which we will strive to attain under the direction of the party and with the help the spirit and initiatives of the FDJ organizations.

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## BUDAPEST DISTRICT COUNCILS TO HAVE GREATER AUTHORITY

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 20 Nov 82 p 5

[Article by Andras Deak: "Greater Independence To The District Councils"]

[Text] The Capital City Council discussed improvement and modernization of the work of councils at its Friday session held in the grand room of the new City Hall. The body discussed five written reports or suggestions, a total of almost 100 pages of material. In his verbal comments, Council President Zoltan Szepvolgyi emphasized that organizational modernization will affect almost 200 people, and that 66 department-head jobs will be eliminated at the district councils. The purpose of the measure is to further accelerate and simplify case handling, that the decisions be made as close to the population as possible, and that the councils should rely even more on local resources.

### They Make Decisions About Hundreds of Millions

Deputy Prime Minister Janos Borbandi, a member of the MSZMP KB [Central Committee] participated in the discussion. He referred to the fact that the Council of Ministers received the report of the Capital City Council's Executive Committee last December, and at the same time defined the most important tasks of improving the state's life and socialist democracy. Thus, the present measures taken by the capital city at the same time also represent the implementation of earlier governmental decisions. One of the basic principles of reorganization is to further increase the independence of the district councils. It is an important political question that local popular representation should become the district's real government, and also have meaningful input in the joint matters of the capital city. Laying down the economic foundations for self-government, and making city politics even more open are extremely important.

The population rightfully demands to be given accurate information about what is going on around it, and information concerning the individual election districts must be relayed primarily by the council members. It is also necessary for this, of course, that they also be given regular and comprehensive information.

Gabor Borbely, secretary of the Budapest Party Committee emphasized in his comments that the proposals presented to the council's session had been

prepared with almost a year's careful work and debated in innumerable forums. Almost everyone agrees with the changes, but these will not be easy to implement in practice. He asked the council members and the council's workers for their understanding assistance in this.

Gyorgy Vundele, secretary of the Budapest Council of Trade Unions [SZBT] said, among other things, that the trade unions have also thoroughly debated the proposals concerning internal reorganization of the councils and modifying the distribution of work among the capital city and district councils, and agree with those. The majority of the council members addressing the issue also stated similar opinions.

But specifically what changes are involved?

According to the proposals, in the interest of increasing the independence and responsibility of the district councils investments of other than outstanding significance and those to be built elsewhere than in housing developments (commercial establishments, day-care centers, kindergartens, schools), and even the tasks connected with the investment of housing developments with fewer than 300 units, must be placed under their authority. Of course, the districts will also receive the financial means necessary for these, so that each year they will be making decisions about the use of additional sums of several hundreds of millions of forints. Implementation of the road network's soil stabilization program, and some of the tasks related to road maintenance and repairs, as well as park maintenance will be transferred to the authority of municipal district councils. As of next year the district councils will take over supervision of the KOZERT [Municipal Food Trade Company, Ltd] and of the catering enterprises, the open-air food markets and some of the covered halls, as well as those small enterprises, which were placed under council supervision during the course of the AFIT [Industrial Trust for Auto Maintenance] and GELKA [Electrical Appliance Maintenance Enterprise of the Machine Industry] reorganizations. Among governmental tasks, in the future the districts will make the decisions, among other things, about the long-term leasing of lots, entering into land-use agreements, permits for temporary rerouting of traffic and mass transportation stops and waiting rooms will be issued here, school visit permits will be issued here, and we could go on and on listing the examples.

This increased authority will make it possible for the district council to react more flexibly to the needs of the population and to handle matters more simply and faster. They will be able to concentrate the financial funds for improvement and repairs on solving problems judged as most urgent on the basis of local ranking. Local supervision of enterprises which provide the population's basic needs and services creates the opportunity to handle these tasks where the population's needs and observations are best known.

#### Combined Main Departments

The capital city furnishes the districts with a total of 126 job positions to handle the increased tasks, with an average wage of 5,000 forints [per month].

In addition to this, regrouping of the market supervisory staff will take place as the markets and the four halls are transferred.

There will also be significant changes within the organization of the Capital City Council. The number of departments and independent groups will decrease by 30 percent, and the number of main departments and top directorates will drop from 23 to 17. The agricultural main department will be combined with the industrial one, and the organizational main department will be transformed into a central secretariat with four organizational units which until now were independent. The main department for labor matters will be combined with the planning and administrative main department. The new organization with fewer subdivisions will, hopefully, accelerate case handling, eliminate unnecessary duplications, and decrease bureaucracy.

According to the plans, in the interest of further improving the relationship between the councils and the population, a central client service office will be established on the Madach Square side of the City Hall building, which will supply legal advice in a broad area and in many types of cases it will be able to take steps immediately, on the spot. From the tasks of the main department of labor, the issuance of work books and also the authorization for accepting employment abroad will be transferred here. The new client service is expected to open in the second quarter of next year.

In the interest of concentrating the maintenance of child-care institutions in one hand, supervision of the day-care centers will be transferred from the main department of health care to that of education. And the Capital City Real Estate Brokerage Enterprise which until now has operated under the Real Estate Management and Construction Directorate, will be placed under the supervision of the main department for housing affairs. It is hoped that this change will also help the real estate transfer activity of the councils take on a significantly greater role than it now has in satisfying the rightful housing requirements of the citizens.

There will be important changes also in the speciality management organization of the district councils. Based on the capital city's guide principle, 7 departments instead of the current 10 will handle the administrative tasks. The financial and planning departments will be combined, and the cultural, health care, and sports tasks will be handled by one department. Price control and supervision of the cooperatives will both be under the authority of the industrial and trade departments. The client service offices will be assigned to the administrative departments because these have the most experience in handling the population's problems.

#### A Meaningful Say

Several council members mentioned during the debate of the proposals that the new organizational measures provide many opportunities and the appropriate framework for improving the level of the work the councils do. But a modern organization can produce the desired results only if the contents and methods of this important work in the community's life also conform to the

requirements of the era. Everybody agrees that more openness and greater social control are needed in the development decisions, and that case handling by the authorities still can and must be further simplified and accelerated. People understand that the country is in a difficult economic situation, but it is difficult to understand why the service enterprises, for example, behave at times as if they were the authorities, and why some case handlers try to act as high officials. The council bodies feel responsible for the population's political well-being, and therefore they must be given all the tools to really have a meaningful say in handling the problems of the community.

After Zoltan Szepvolgyi summarized the debate, the Capital City Council adopted the submitted proposals.

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COMMANDER DISCUSSES NATIONAL AIR DEFENSE FORCES

Poznan-Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I WOJSK OBRONY POWIETRZNEJ KRAJU in Polish No 10, Oct 82 pp 5-9

[Article by Lt Gen Longin Lozowicki: "The National Defense Forces in the Service of the Socialist Motherland"]

[Text] We live now under conditions of deep sociopolitical crisis. The results of the crisis are intensified by the difficult economic situation. The Military Council for the National Salvation, supported by national patriotic forces, is making efforts to bring the country out of the crisis.

The Ninth PZPR Special Congress adopted a program for the socialistic reconstruction and evaluated current trends and developmental tendencies in the country and in the world. Time showed that the evaluation was correct, since we observe a dramatic increase in the activities of imperialism and especially American imperialism which constantly makes efforts to aggravate the international situation. In our country there are forces inspired by imperialism. They lead a fierce warfare aimed at overthrowing socialism.

In this situation, it is especially important to implement a strategy of peace, to decrease the threat of war, to increase the range of detente, and to develop a broad cooperation among countries with various political systems. Faced with the threat coming from imperialistic circles, the Polish United Workers' Party and the PRL Government has assigned a special role to the defense of the country, to the armed forces, and to keeping the forces in constant readiness. This includes the National Air Defense Forces.

The current U.S. Administration has taken a course aimed at achieving military superiority by NATO countries over socialist countries. The strategy of "counteraction", announced by Washington as one of the main elements of the "limited atomic war," is advanced on the basis of the achieved superiority in strategic armaments. An unprecedented, considering the range, plan of developing attack forces has been announced. As part of the plan, inter-continental ballistic missiles of a new generation based on land and sea, heavy bombers, and broad range cruise missiles will be introduced. Furthermore, the announced program calling for "chemical rearmament" shows that the U.S. Government is taking a dangerous path of developing an array of weapons of mass destruction.

The imperialistic doctrines and plans of aggression assign a special role to cruise missiles. This weapon has a capability that may greatly influence the way that warfare is conducted. A deployment of hundreds of such missiles is planned (in the near future) in several NATO countries. Cruise missiles, launched from airplanes, ships, and on-land launchers, can reach their goal on low altitudes bypassing natural obstacles. Thus, they are difficult to detect and destroy.

In the framework of the "Stealth" program intensive work is conducted to design a new airplane, undetectable by radiotechnological means. Various means of conducting radioelectronic warfare are being perfected. Other novelties of military technology are introduced to armaments.

A substantial increase in the technological-combat capability of the air force, a quick development of new unmanned SNPs [means of air attack] combined with the increased aggressiveness of the probable enemy increases the urgency of the need for an effective air defense.

To insure a reliable defense of our motherland's air borders, and to repel an attempt of a surprise attack on the PRL's territory, a planned development and improvement of all branches of the Home Air Defense [OPK] forces is conducted. The OPK forces constitute the first echelon of the Polish state's defense from aggression. This role defines their place within the armed forces.

Comprehensive strengthening of the combat potential of the OPK forces is a task of national significance. It is a complex task, and it is implemented under direct supervision of our party and the government, as is the case with other types of forces.

In the course of implementing the National Defense minister's directives, commanders, the party-political apparatus, the staffs, and the party and youth organizations make efforts at combining the continued improvement of the technical equipment of the forces with the improvement in the combat mastery and moral qualities of soldiers.

The combat readiness of the OPK forces is continually improving. Soldiers improve their skills needed to effectively conduct prolonged, intense combat activities both by day and by night, and using mass strike weapons. They gain valuable practical experience during both home and interallied exercises and maneuvers. Other forms of training are also a good school of combat mastery. They include tactical exercises with combat shooting on a practice range conducted by both missile and air forces, exercises and training drills pertaining to detecting and leading both real and simulated air targets, and protecting active combat means in which radiotechnological forces participate.

The current political-military situation forces us, OPK soldiers, to reach certain conclusions on the basis of many premises. The most significant premise is the qualitative development of new types of weapons by NATO countries. This situation requires from us continued work on the technical



improvement of SNP's, and it implies continued vigilance and high defense readiness. Above all, it demands from the professional cadre a constant awareness of the degree of the danger.

The experience of the Second World War, local wars conducted in Indochina and, even more so, in the Middle East, and the experience gained during exercises and maneuvers should be taken under consideration in the course of training. On this basis, we should search for the most effective ways of conducting combat activities.

We ought to be even more persistent in our efforts to improve training of officers, the effectiveness of both control and management of combat training, and the level of every exercise and training drill. The situation when there is a solution available, but there is not enough persistence and initiative to implement it, should never happen.

Now, as never before, it is necessary to significantly increase both demands on the professional cadre and the responsibility for charged tasks. Every OPK officer should be characterized by the capacity to work effectively and well, giving all his strength and knowledge. Members of the party and youth organizations should serve as examples of such qualities. It is necessary to improve tactical training of officers and their practical skills needed to maintain the readiness of units and subunits for instant combat activities, especially in near-border regions.

There is an important link between this requirement and the task of improving the quality of combat duty tours. It is necessary to display considerable vigilance and to constantly observe the probable enemy, his capability and resources. It is also important to constantly improve our own professional skills.

Thus, the commanders, the party-political apparatus, echelons, party and youth organizations, and all the service and social units are required to conduct systematic and reliable training-educational activities and to develop and consolidate the needed qualities in soldiers.

The daily activities of our soldiers, consist of performing combat duties, participating in training drills and exercises, and other types of training. They put a heavy burden on the soldiers and require of them a highly developed sense of responsibility.

The communications force, technological and protective services, and support units and subunits insure a satisfactory implementation of tasks performed by OPK forces. Their duty is to insure the material-technological combat readiness of OPK and the smooth performance of both the OPK daily duties and training activities. They also insure the smooth and efficient command of the forces. As a result of their efforts, tasks are performed effectively and safely, a high technological level of armaments and equipment is maintained, and soldiers remain in good psychological condition.

The main role is now assigned in the forces to weapons operated by teams of soldiers. Thus, the mastery of soldiers is meant mainly as mastery of the combat team. The team consists of people who are alert, intelligent, and able to work well together. Furthermore, the team is characterized by exemplary organization, constant vigilance and readiness for action, and a high sense of responsibility. Every member of the team performs a part of the task that is being implemented. In such a situation, the ineptitude, sloppiness, or a lack of discipline on the part of only one soldier may lead to serious consequences, such as the failure to implement the combat task. This means that the role of each man in combat and battle has actually increased. That is why our most important task consists in finding the most effective way of utilizing the great capability of modern armaments and combat equipment and in constant improvement of the forms of their utilization.

Every type of the OPK forces has its own particular problems that require our initiative and unflagging attention. Furthermore, we constantly struggle to further diminish the time needed by units and subunits to acquire combat readiness. This requirement should be evident in the way the combat training is arranged, and it should be the basic ingredient of honing the OPK soldiers' combat mastery. A high degree of the combat readiness is the basic principle of evaluating both individual soldiers and teams, regardless of specific tasks implemented by them in the air defense system.

While implementing all the tasks required of the forces, we ought to remember that currently youth constitutes over three-fourths of the forces. They are representatives of a new generation of Poles who have not experienced the war personally. Therefore, it is necessary to make them aware of the truth concerning the existing danger--the ruthless reality of our times--and the need for greater vigilance. They need to develop an intolerant attitude toward all manifestations of carelessness and indifference.

Our strength and combat capability are increased by the comprehensive linking of the technological-combat capability of the air force, the missile means of defense, and radiotechnological forces. They are further enhanced by the many-sided cooperation and integration of the air defense forces of fraternal socialistic countries within the framework of the Warsaw Pact. The Pact determines the infallibility of our combined defense system. The efficient functioning of the uniform air defense system of the Warsaw Pact countries is enhanced by a constant exchange of the experience pertaining to the organization, the forms, and methods of training.

The cadre plays a key role in the complex process of improving the combat efficiency, the quality of command, the organization of work and service, and the comprehensive training of personnel. The cadre is directly involved in all levels of command and it implements important training-educational tasks. The cadre shapes the soldier's personality, his knowledge, and the skills needed to use the combat equipment. It instills in the soldier the dedication and commitment, and the sense of responsibility for the quality of the implemented tasks.

I am happy to say that we have valuable cadre. Our cadre is well educated and ideologically committed. It functions with competence and is capable of handling the growing demands made on our forces.

The discussed accomplishments of the cadre and soldiers in basic military service were fully manifested during the difficult period of the socio-political and economic crisis experienced in our country.

We observed with great concern the growing economic anarchy and political confusion of a part of the society. Soldiers strongly opposed actions of extremists from "Solidarity", openly aimed at assuming power in the country.

That is why the introduction of martial law and creation of the Military Council for National Salvation met with their full understanding and support.

This move turned around the course of events and prevented the tragedy of a civil war.

The armed forces acted the same way as during the time when the foundations of the Polish statehood were put down after the Second World War. They acted in defense of the socialistic state. They undertook new, complex tasks, from insuring the security and internal order in the country to helping put the economy in order and insure proper functioning of the structures of the power apparatus. The OPK soldiers also participate in implementing some of those tasks.

In the course of implementation of tasks during the period of martial law the professional cadre displayed considerable maturity, high ideological and moral-political qualities, and a sense of discipline. Its devoted service had a significant influence on moods and behavior of soldiers and civilian employees in the forces.

We can now boldly state that we have lived up to the demands. This has been possible for many reasons, including the fact that the party-political system conducted its work and affected consciousness of individuals in a manner that lent it credibility.

Close links between party activists and both party members and nonmembers contributed to maintaining the high level of the assertive political activities.

The OPK forces have been and will remain a "forward edge" force, a force characterized by a constant combat readiness. This defines our main task--the strengthening of the combat potential of the OPK forces. OPK soldiers are aware of their responsibility to the party and the nation for unfailing air defense of our motherland. They should persist in perfecting their training, in raising the combat readiness of units and subunits, and in fulfilling their constitutional duty with dignity and honor.

9959

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JUSTICE MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON 'SUSPENSION' OF MARTIAL LAW

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 44, 18 Dec 82 p 3

[Interview with Justice Minister Prof Dr Sylwester Zawadzki by Stanislaw Podemski, date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] As we speak, the Sejm is in session, and the proposals submitted to it by Prof H Jablonski, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, presage the suspension of martial law. This state of martial law has been in effect now 1 year. Many people ask: Why has it been in effect so long?

[Answer] From the very beginning it was declared that martial law would only be temporary. Please remember, however, that the causes for initiating martial law in Poland were diverse, complicated, dramatic and difficult to overcome. They included: fear of bloodshed, a social conflict developing into a civil war, an economic crisis verging on complete economic collapse, Poland's deteriorating international situation, and the fear that an internal domestic conflict would develop into an international encounter.

As long as these causes exist, the safety of the state and survival of the nation is in danger, and the maintenance of martial law depends on this.

Concerning public opinion, I cite the reply of the authors of the letters to the government about the meeting with Vice Premier Rakowski regarding the change and in which letters it was stated that it was necessary for martial law to endure or at least be maintained in certain areas.

I will assist you in your role and will pose the next question myself: Would it have been possible to eliminate the causes for martial law at an earlier time?

[Question] Was there such a possibility?

[Answer] As shown by the past, the possibility was only theoretical (unfortunately). One can see, for example, that the moderate and not radical elements of Solidarity triumphed during the martial law period, that it refrained from abusing the right to strike; it acknowledged Poland's alliances and constitutional principles of government in practice and not in theory, and it upheld the August agreements. Nothing of that sort occurred. On the contrary, during the martial law period all internees were promptly freed, and this would impede a return to the situation that existed before 13 December 1981.

The policy of the West encouraging the prolongation rather than the shortening of martial law related to everything I have said. The effective slogan 'let the Poles resolve their own problems,' which was formulated in 1980, was discarded quickly when the turn of events became disadvantageous for Washington and its allies. The psychological war, boycott and economic blockade complicated Poland's internal situation even more. It is a pity because it could have been otherwise, and a very prudent, realistic and even-minded attitude by those countries could have hindered and not, as it turned out, encouraged the rise of an underground organizing street manifestations and encouraging strikes.

[Question] Have we done everything possible to depart at least gradually more quickly from the penalties despite all these arguments?

[Answer] And were not many such attempts made? Please remember the gradual steps that were taken in this direction. Many months ago restrictions on travel beyond the locality of residence and the prohibition on holding meetings were lifted, and telephone service between cities was resumed and the first internees were freed. Still, all of the more daring steps were interpreted as weakness of the government which gave rise to the theory 'of forcing the lifting of martial law.' Let us both recall here the events of 1 and 3 May or 31 August. Such also was the retort of underground Solidarity to the premier's well-known speech of 21 July and the government's act of good will in the form of releasing 2,000 internees. If it were not for this theory and its expedient, notably unfortunate results, we would now be much further along the road to ending martial law. The events of May and August thwarted the government's intentions to lift all martial law restrictions by the end of the year.

October 10 was an important and critical turning point when it was demonstrated that the public, especially the working class, had enough of disturbances and perceived that the path recommended by underground Solidarity leads nowhere. The position taken by the primate of Poland after its return from Rome and the results of the meeting between the primate and premier also played an important role in pacifying emotions and the prevailance of reason and realism over emotions.

In this manner the elementary conditions emerged to lift many of the restrictions which till now protected the country against civil war and economic ruin.

[Question] Why lift only some and not all restrictions?

[Answer] Please remember that a number of underground structures of Solidarity still exist and they may try to draw some young people to subsequent disturbances. In addition, there is the West's diversionary propaganda having the obvious aim to maintain confusion, and it turns out that certain, quite serious risks of unrest still exist. Of course, I would prefer to repeal martial law entirely immediately, right now if it were now possible. However, the mentioned dangers require that we be cautious, that we first suspend martial law and limit its basic institution and only after a favorable test service to repeal it entirely.

Too many people fear that a total repeal of martial law would be a premature step.

On the other hand, a suspension can always be revoked by an authorized Sejm state organ.

It is proposed in a special draft statute that this authority be given to the Council of State if the government were forced by circumstances to turn to it to reinstitute martial law in Poland wholly or in part.

[Question] If possible let us go on to the specific discussion of the legislative proposal presented to the Sejm.

[Answer] First of all internment will cease, and the internees will be freed. However, a relatively small number of them will remain temporarily under arrest and be subject to the legal process because they are charged with committing crimes against the state.

[Question] But how does this decision relate to the abolition decree of 1 year ago in which 'crimes committed before 13 December 1981 are forgiven and forgotten'?

[Answer] I would like to remind you of its specifics. The decree clearly exempts numerous law violations, including 'activity aimed at overthrowing by force the form of government of the Polish People's Republic' (Art 129 of the penal code). Material obtained during the martial law period was sufficient reason for such action.

But let us continue: the summary procedure and competence of military courts with regard to civilians will be restricted considerably.

[Question] Which means?

[Answer] It means, for example, that in place of several dozen crimes now prosecuted in summary procedures, about 20 of the most serious crimes, for example, homicide, sabotage, burglary, robbery and some economic crimes will be presented in this way. Also, the list of offenses subject to military courts will be shorter. I do not wish to go into detail here because it would be necessary to specify and comment on the articles of the penal code. However, the very trend of restricting these special ways of administering justice is important.

It is a fact that those having learned from the past propose that certain institutions be legalized permanently, which after all are used by many countries of the world, for example, an order from a public prosecutor to tap a telephone or the inspection of correspondence and shipments. A complaint will be necessary to obtain such an order.

[Question] An amnesty is expected.

[Answer] That cannot be ruled out, but it must be at a later time, after more progress has been achieved in normalization. This will be approached by considering the possibility of using the right of reprieve regarding

specific individuals, taking into consideration each case individually (for example, the behavior of the accused, his family situation, the degree of ill will, behavior in the penal facility, and the life). As a penal procedure, a decreed positive court opinion will be required here; but, of course, the Council of State could designate in a special law the category of accused worthy of pardon (for example, women, ill people, young people under 21 years old).

[Question] But the code procedure for reprieves is too slow and complicated to realize quickly such widely expected reprieves....

[Answer] I can assure you that in this area where it concerns the courts, the procedure concerning reprieves will be fast and efficient. Please also remember that some of the accused can obtain freedom via the normal path for an early, conditional dismissal.

[Question] But that occurs only after 2/3 of the sentence is served!

[Answer] But for the accused who are under 21, it occurs after 1/2 is served, which for those sentenced to lesser punishment is now very significant.

[Question] Will the bans and penalties continue to be enforced in the present form on strikes, street demonstrations and press censorship?

[Answer] There should be no misunderstanding: the suspension of martial law must not leave the state and economy defenseless against illegal acts and chaos. For example, he who does not take advantage of the opportunity to return to his job or family and participates in underground activity against public order can, of course, expect to be suitably punished. The legislation against underground and illegal publications and demonstrations will continue to remain in force. The demilitarization of many industrial plants does not mean that every one can leave his job freely or disregard his obligations. We expect that in many plants a change of job will require employer approval. And he who quits a job can expect less pay at his new workplace.

You asked about strikes. It should be remembered that the law on trade unions guarantees labor the right to strike and starting 1 January 1983 it can be exercised if the limitations, conditions and principles designated in the trade union law are observed.

Regarding matters of employment and discipline, it should be remembered that the proposal submitted to the Sejm calls for the formation of special commissions which will remove from managerial positions people who neglect their obligations and thus seriously harming the public interest. The gradations to be applied here are a warning, demotion to a lesser position and dismissal.

Some special authorizations of governors (for example, in the realm of state control), enterprise directors, higher school rectors (for example, to take steps to maintain peace and order on university campuses) will be retained.

Existing restrictions on freedom of the press will also remain.

[Question] Why?

[Answer] Whoever reads a paper (even if it is POLITYKA) knows that much can be written. The liberal law on the control of the press, publications and exhibitions must still be observed completely until reason prevails and one can count on the accommodating introduction of martial law in the course of events.

[Question] When will restrictions on activities of all worker and association self-governments end?

[Answer] According to government plans, the former should end within 3 months and the latter will last longer, after 6 months. In other words, the appropriate economic or administrative officials must come to terms in these time periods with the decisions concerning renewed self-government and association activities.

[Question] In repealing martial law, people also expect the relaxation of the existing rigorous passport policy or the elimination of all restrictions on an individual's foreign exchange bank account.

[Answer] I cannot go into details of the problem because the answer to your question is not within the competence of my ministry. I can say that in accordance with earlier announcements, it is certain that that passport policy will be relaxed; however, existing rules for using foreign exchange accounts by citizens will remain in force for the time being; such is the government's proposal.

[Question] All in all, does this mean something more than simply suspending the force of the obligatory portions of the martial law regulations?

[Answer] It is not a cosmetic procedure as some experts of the Reagan administration are trying to present it, trying to justify the illegal economic blockade at all costs. It is a suspension of the basic powers of the martial law institutions and that part of them that is of the greatest, basic significance for a definitive withdrawal from martial law. This will change the country's situation in a basic way and nourish more hope for the course of events.

11899

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## SIMILARITIES IN 'SOLIDARITY,' EMIGRE GROUP GOALS SEEN

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20-21 Nov 82 pp 3, 6

/Article by Teresa Grabczynska: "Heralds of Confrontation: Dreams of the Parisian Mafia"/

/Text/ They are being converted into defenders of the ideas of "Solidarity," fervent patriots and true democrats, heralds of the Polish issue in the West. A good knowledge of events in Poland, independence in representing Polish national interests, and the native language which they use in publications and radio broadcasts are supposed to make their faithfulness legitimate. And yet they do not stop slandering Poland and fomenting riots just as they do not abandon their own Western constituents. Hatred for everything socialist binds them together; for them the "Iron Curtain" continues to divide the world into good and evil.

"Everything is taking place now as if in a bad dream: ominously and too quickly," wrote Socjusz or Zdzislaw Najder recently in the columns of Paris KULTURA, alarmed by the normalization of life in Poland, by the attitude of the majority of the society which is opposed to strikes and underground slogans summoning them to unceasing confrontation.

It is easy to understand these words of disillusionment and the tone of disappointment. It is enough to mention other plans and hopes of active workers of various antisocialist opposition groups from one year ago. After years of waiting for an auspicious moment they saw their chance then. They saw their ideological heir, the continuator of the programs and concepts which they had launched, in a massive, legal union organization which enjoyed social approval. Their influence and pull among some of the leadership and advisors of "Solidarity" grew in time to be so great that these expectations were not unfounded.

The most active national and regional "Solidarity" workers were found who availed themselves of the programs and experiences of antisocialist groups without any obstacles--those better known groups such as KOR /Committee for the Defense of the Workers/ and KPN /Confederation for an Independent Poland/ and deeply conspiratorial groups about which society knew very little. These included the Polish Agreement for Independence /PPN/, among others.

The PPN was formed into a political opposition group at the end of 1975 and the beginning of 1976, when it inaugurated its activity with the publication in the West of its program and so-called ideological declaration.

That was a specific response to an order from the center of Paris KULTURA, whose chiefs recognized that, aside from protests, opposition in Poland would not manage to present any political alternative or a political platform for the activity of opposition groups having different orientations. And Paris KULTURA, consistent with its mission of sabotage, knew well at the time that Poland was being made the "weak link" of the socialist community.

The shaping of the PPN was determined by western inspiration and the conviction of some of the most active opposition workers from the intellectual environment concerning the need to prepare society for the moment when it would be possible to execute structural political changes.

The goals of the PPN were: "...to influence and educate society, and especially the intelligentsia, by elaborating and publishing political concepts concerning the key problems of the Polish nation and Polish society at the present time, and also those which undoubtedly will arise when independence is regained. The independent existence of the state and the preparation of the Polish intelligentsia for this independent existence represent the basic instrument uniting people with divergent ideological views within the PPN... The vision of a future democratic system based on Christian moral principles and on liberal socialism strengthens this cohesiveness..."

The most active workers of the PPN have not been surrounded by publicity in their "educational" work and in their struggle for "independence." On the contrary--ironclad rules of an internal conspiracy have bound them. The totality of organizational and journalistic work has been directed by the so-called circle of founders, and among them, individuals constantly spending time in the West. So-called confidence men represent the interests of this antisocialist, Mafia organization in individual countries. One should treat Prof Leszek Kolakowski in Great Britain, Prof Jerzy Lerski in the United States, and Gustav Herling-Grudzinski in Italy as confidence men.

The PPN instituted primarily the education and shaping of the intellectual elite, who will become the centers of opposition sociopolitical activity in the future. It distributed mimeographed materials, not counting texts "mysteriously" published in Paris KULTURA, on a regular basis. The western centers of political sabotage financed the organization.

One of the leaders of the PPN--a group pretending at the time to play the chief role among the various opposition groups--is Zdzislaw Najder, chief of the so-called Radio Free Europe Polish broadcasting station since the spring of 1982. Before that, his extensive contacts with foreigners abroad and in Poland, among others with employees of the U.S. embassy in Warsaw and CIA functionaries, facilitated the transfer of information to foreign managerial centers, the exchange of correspondence using diplomats, and the receipt through this channel of funds and technical assets earmarked for opposition activity.

The program of the PPN is not original. On many issues it converges with the programs of other opposition groups, for example KOR, the Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights /ROPCiO/, and KPN. And is it possible that the PPN was supposed to be only the "mother" of antisocialist actions, can it be that it was assigned the role of a matrix for others to duplicate its activity?

The pillars of this program are anticommunism and anti-Soviet activity. Aspiring to varied, vague sounding slogans, its authors call us to battle for "the recovery of real sovereignty, the introduction of civil liberties and a multiparty democracy, economic progress without the self-sacrifices of the masses, and free development of culture, of personal interchange and of exchange of thoughts and information." Poland should replace socialism with a "better" system--based on models operating in western countries. And thus, this is the very "mother program": let each antisocialist group implement its programs differently, so that they will be "well" implemented.

It is worth turning our attention to the remarkable similarity between the PPN program and the official documents signed by "Solidarity," among others. In places one is struck by the similarity of the concepts, principles, and even formulations in the congressional program of "Solidarity" and the one which the PPN popularized several years earlier.

The construction is identical. First, sharp criticism of the existing reality and structural principles, and then demands for improvement and changes. In comparing the programs of both organizations we should remember that not only did they differ diametrically in the conditions under which they operated--but, primarily, in that one of them was illegal, an outright Mafia organization, while the other had the reputation of being a massive professional union representing the interests of working people.

Hence, not everything in the program of "Solidarity" is said openly and fully. Let us recall if only the heated argument which the issue of Polish alliances provoked in the Gdansk "Olivia" hall. The PPN program expressly mentions "the need to regain sovereignty," to make Poland independent of the Soviet Union; solidarity is expressed with the peoples of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, and Lithuania. The leaders of "Solidarity" embraced these concepts more cautiously, "better"--but the sense remained the same: to wrest Poland from the socialist community.

The authors of both programs demand, among other things: the introduction of social control in all fields of life, with the use of the control opportunities of the union apparatus; the freedom of speech indicating the authorities' consent for them to issue and distribute so-called independent publications; the freedom to form associations which in time can be transformed into political parties within the framework of a multiparty democracy. The demands for a school system "free of hypocrisy and fear," for autonomy of the educational institutions sound the same. Similarly, common opinions and conclusions are expressed regarding the problems of the economy and agriculture and the direction of their "reform."

The Autonomous Republic whose vision the animators of the "Solidarity" program delineated is similar in its assumptions to the organization of social, political, and economic life and to the active opposition workers in the PPN.

Moreover, the active workers did not conceal this fact in their public remarks abroad. They continued to regard themselves as competent advisors and protectors of "Solidarity," watching over the appropriate development of the situation. In doing so, they did not inquire about the opinion of the rank-and-file members of the union, who often lacked confidence in this protection and had a negative view of the role of advisors and experts.

"...We have not managed to prepare broader social spheres, a large number of people and environments for open activity, we have not introduced them to organizational work that is even initially secret. This is being corrected now... There are too few individuals and units to constitute organizational support, to facilitate mutual understanding, to give advice, to coordinate and link initiatives, etc"--lamented Zdzislaw Najder in the columns of Paris KULTURA.

Just like others living in hatred of socialism, seeking support from western "friends," he saw "Solidarity" in only one dimension. He was concerned with bringing the socialist state to its downfall with the help of "Solidarity" and behind the backs of its members, with wrenching Poland from the CEMA circle, with including Poland in the western orbit.

With genuine satisfaction, although not indiscriminately, he evaluated the "Solidarity" program approved at the congress, devoting much attention to the dissension over the independent republic.

As Bronislaw Lasocki wrote in Paris KULTURA No 12 1981: "...It also follows unequivocally from the development of these programs that the issue is not one of cosmetic changes but of the introduction of basic structural changes..."

Being an "ambitious and far-sighted" man, he did not forget about the credit due him for preparing the proper groundwork and elaborating the concepts and plans which "Solidarity" could use: "'Solidarity' has many advisors and experts, frequently very eminent specialists in their fields. It also has general political advisors. I believe that the union should demand not only that these latter advisors suggest slogans and goals, but primarily that they point out inconsistencies and contradictions in proposed plans... Such binding criticism will be the most valuable service for the union."

The "aid" given by Najder and people like him caused the leadership of "Solidarity" to go astray politically, frustrated the hopes of working people concerning the possibility of arriving at a national understanding, and led to the danger of confrontation, the outbreak of which was halted by the introduction of martial law.

On 13 December Polish society survived an enormous shock, but Najder still does not resign and continues to instigate, incite, and make promises as he did in previous "good times."

What does he propose? The daily appeals and instructions for his native underground which "Radio Free Europe" broadcasts provide the answer. In a successive publication distinctively titled "Let Us Stand By Our Principles" (Paris KULTURA No 3 1982), he himself asserts that Poles are faced with three general goals: "...To save the idea of 'Solidarity,' to prevent martial law from being treated as an internal Polish matter, and to keep people faithful to the moral and patriotic principles which will constitute the foundation of the resurrection of the free development of Polish society."

For director Najder, internationalizing the Polish issue is the key task, the reason for being for all the oppositionists staying in the West.

This task--he maintains in the same article--falls in part into old, new, and newest emigration: "...We must propagate the thought...that only the elimination of the post-Yalta system of international relations provides an opportunity for real detente in Europe... The condition for the internationalization of the Polish issue is to keep it in the consciousness of public opinion and of political circles both in the West and among the Soviets for a long time. And the condition for this, in turn, is the continuing resistance of Poles..."

So far as can be seen, the price which Polish society would have to pay to inspire that interest is not great. Without a sense of responsibility, disregarding the risk of starting even a civil war, Najder repeats that Poles have no choice, that they have to pressure the authorities continually to force them into agreements and compromises and to make them yield "clearly and meaningfully."

It is true that for the PPN, represented by Najder and anticommunists like him, nothing that happens in Poland is sufficiently important unless it has repercussions in the West. Whatever dialogue and understanding takes place is a mortal blow for them, a dam putting a stop to the "fruitful" activity of political sabotage centers. They are trying to safeguard their own positions--by assuring their American sponsors of their own usefulness and by exploiting the antidetente policy of the American administration, they are heading for an increase in tensions. Hence, the aspirations for the so-called internationalization of the Polish issue, the declarations on the need to change the post-Yalta system and the need for a new division of the world into zones of influence.

But it would be an exaggeration to credit Najder and his collaborators with independence in creating and expressing those concepts. It will be nearer the truth to talk about the role of the relay and executor of deferred American recommendations. It is they who are controlling the propaganda campaign against Poland, and who are determining its intensity or abatement, depending on the needs of the political game being played on a large scale. For them it is important to have a turbulent and unstable Poland, for then they have a pretext for interfering and meddling in Poland's internal affairs and those of the eastern bloc. In the end it is from them that Mr Najder receives his director's salary.

In the opinion of some representatives of U.S. governing circles, the propaganda campaign being waged at present should support those active workers of the opposition and the underground who are even prepared to oppose the authorities during civil war, an action which could--in their opinion--lead to the breakup of the whole socialist community. Therefore, they ascribe greater weight to propagandistic activities than to other activities, even economic sanctions, and they give the executors of these propagandistic activities complete freedom in choosing their media and methods so that they will be effective.

In the upcoming plans of the American centers of propaganda and special services, organizations focusing on Polish emigration and active opposition workers with good contacts with Poland have occupied a significant place. Poles who recently left their country have been readily hired to work for the Radio Free Europe broadcasting station or the Voice of America. Both broadcasting stations are being assigned an especially essential role in the anti-Polish campaign under way. They are not only supposed to intensify their activity but also to introduce basic changes in their program policy.

They are depending on the waging of a direct attack on the system as being unreformable and unsuited to the requirements of "a nation with a highly developed civilization and culture." In the programs of Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America, special, separate broadcast blocks also will be directed at youth.

Director Najder is trying his best to be equal to these ambitious tasks. In his opinion the Polish section of Radio Free Europe is capable of demonstrating even greater "militancy, disinformation, and political inspiration." To this end he already has recommended full synchronization of the Radio Free Europe information service with programs broadcast by other western stations with programs in Polish, and the adaptation of the themes of the Radio Free Europe programs to protest actions planned in Poland by the opposition.

Surely in his next publication in Paris KULTURA Zdzislaw Najder will appeal, in a flood of great words on patriotism, freedom, and democracy, for perseverance in resistance and the underground, will remind us of the greatness of the /Polish/ people, will sentimentalize about the fate of "Solidarity," will heap invectives on the state authorities, will predict the downfall of socialism... But Zdzislaw Najder and his broadcasting station will not be saying anything new, anything more than what he preached earlier in the PPN--an anti-Polish group typical of political sabotage activity.

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RAKOWSKI REPLIES TO LETTERS FROM CITIZENS

AU101626 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Dec 82 pp 1, 2

[PAP report: "Vice Premier M. F. Rakowski Replies to Letters—'We Disregard No Citizen's Voice'"]

[Text] Vice Premier M. Rakowski's November meeting with the authors of letters to the government, including letters to Gen W. Jaruzelski, has echoed and reechoed throughout the country. New letters with views and observations on that meeting have since reached M. Rakowski.

M. Rakowski presented and commented on some of these letters in his 65-minute TV program shown on the evening of 7 December.

To begin with, M. Rakowski said that the premier reads every letter very carefully and that certain decisions are often influenced by these letters. We have not and will not disregard any citizen's voice. This is simply the style of our work and our duty.

M. Rakowski expressed cordial thanks to all the people who had written to him following the November meeting.

These letters express varied views, but this is natural and clear. However, M. Rakowski added that these views should be homogeneous with regard to certain issues. They should be homogeneous on issues such as the Polish *raison d'etat*, the need to overcome the economic crisis, the absolute need for productive and well-organized work, and so on.

M. Rakowski then discussed a number of issues mentioned in the citizens' letters and said that he was unable to reply to every letter.

The first issue concerned the evaluation of the November meeting.

M. Rakowski quoted from the letter sent by the party organization in one of the large industrial enterprises in Silesia.

"First of all, we are pleased that as a representative of the party you scored a complete success at the November meeting and have thus boosted the party's authority. We think that there should be as many of these meetings as possible. Party adherents were warm, appreciative and complimentary in

commenting on your statements and those who are averse to the party commented on them with respect. We know that the road to social agreement and cooperation acceptable to everyone and to the day when most working people regain their full confidence in the party and people's power is still long and difficult."

Another view: "The November meeting was for many reasons an event that should become a basis for understanding and dialogue. It was a test for the two sides participating in the attempts to assess Poland, the country and its immediate and distant future reasonably. I know how infernally difficult it is to govern this country. This is because there are as many contrary interests and views as there are people."

Commenting on this letter, M. Rakowski wondered whether it was really difficult to govern Poland and said that perhaps there was no community that could be governed with ease. I think, he said, that our national character possesses certain features harking back to our past and that these features make it difficult to create what we could call a permanent platform of agreement between our community or a part of it, on the one hand, and the power apparatus, on the other. In any case, I do not think, he added, that we are a people who are especially difficult to govern.

Another letter cited by M. Rakowski was written by a woman who was at the 6 November meeting. "Many of my acquaintances," she wrote, "who so far have had no reason to bear me any grudge for my views have a reason now. The best 'present' I have received was an anonymous postcard with a gallows drawn on it.... I am writing to you about this not to complain, but to show you that it is not only your chair that is uncomfortable. I simply want you to know that those who are together with you often find things difficult.... Some people thought that I had been sent out by the PZPR and that Rakowski had put down what I was supposed to say at the meeting." M. Rakowski thus said the following: "Well, I swear to you that I did not write any speeches for anyone...."

Another letter: "When one listens to Rakowski one develops a great desire to set about organizing new trade unions and even to work in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]. But when one listens to statements made on radio and television, let alone the statements made at the local levels, then one has little desire to go on living." M. Rakowski commented on this letter: I do not know why the writer says "even to work in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth." To me this movement is an organization that has a future in our country. Every Pole who wants to be active socially should be active and should support the movement's program because it is very reasonable and feasible. It is worth endorsing this program. I do not share the view that the movement is a facade organization and that it has no chance. There is a chance in Poland for whatever is realistic and whatever makes it possible to rally everyone around the main aims of our fatherland. Indeed, many letters state the view that the party and government leadership formulates very correct and interesting programs, but that they often look quite different in the field. There is no doubt that there are often discrepancies between the proposals we make in



Warsaw and the implementation of these proposals in the field. However, to tell the truth, the only thing we can do is to counter all efforts to modify in the field the policy always followed by the party and state leadership.

Another view: "The November meeting was an enormous dud. I think that it is much too early for such meetings." M. Rakowski: This was written by a man who thinks that the frankness and openness of the meeting was not justified by our country's present political situation.

M. Rakowski cited another letter: "Through the November meeting you have won adherents whom it is impossible to win by promising them benefits or promotion. The power apparatus can rely on such people in any situation, provided they trust the sincerity of the intentions of this apparatus. The statement that the power apparatus listens to no advice is proof of ignorance or malice." M. Rakowski: It seems that this is a most accurate observation, for the November meeting included the people who said what was irritating them and who did not look for applause and for some special benefits. Personally, I was astonished by the fact that most participants in that meeting voted for the proposal that their statements should be recorded by television cameras. This shows that our community includes people who have the courage to speak out on their own views, although their communities very often refuse to accept these views. These people criticized the government and demonstrated some measure of courage. They demonstrated the same courage when they praised the government, but criticized certain negative features in Poland, and when they appraised the situation as we, the government, appraise it. I think that this was a success for our country, that we have such people.

M. Rakowski said that he had received a letter from, as he put it, quite a bigwig from Krakow Solidarity, who agreed that the meeting was credible.

"Why did no one ask who would carry out a referendum or a poll on abolishing or suspending martial law in Poland and when?" This was a passage from another letter presented by M. Rakowski, who said that the question was really interesting and justified. He also remarked that in the past few days both television and the press had been publicizing various views on what should be done in the immediate future. Should the Council of State propose that martial law be abolished or suspended? In this connection, I would like to observe that many letters state that it is still too early to abolish martial law and that such an abolition may trigger unknown effects. Such letters are written by people who simply want to be sure that no major disruptions of law and order, which has been reintroduced with such difficulty, will ever occur in our country.

Another passage from a letter: "If it is possible, I would like to praise the Szczecin worker who unmasked with courage the process by which Solidarity had come into being. My wife, who is very critical of the PZPR, got up from her easy chair and applauded while that worker spoke. She said that Solidarity members in her plant had been recruited in exactly the same way."

M. Rakowski then presented passages from the letters evaluating him and to some extent the 6 November meeting. "We praise you for not burying your head in the sand and for trying to clarify certain issues on television. Your meeting with the authors of the letters to the government is proof that the power apparatus in Warsaw is trying to follow new lines and does not rigidly stick to schemes and that its hand and intention are clean."

Referring to the praise he himself received, M. Rakowski noted that he was unable to accept this praise because it belonged to the political line he represents and implements.

However, some letters were in quite a different vein: "You behaved like a sergeant and not like a premier [as published]. It was a farce. Nor are you a realist. You are just a careerist."

M. Rakowski also quoted from letters criticizing the very idea of the November meeting at Krakowskie Przedmiescie. Such letters accounted for about 15 percent of all letters. The main charge was that the meeting was stage-managed, M. Rakowski said. Radio Free Europe also used this term to describe the meeting. "The shipyard worker was bribed." People who attended the meeting were asked how many security service functionaries had been present at the meeting, how much money had been paid to those who defended the government and how much money M. Rakowski had received to be there. Another quote: "Where did you get that party woman from, the one who is afraid of the abolition of martial law and of freedom for Poles and who proposed that martial law be prolonged even forever--a proposal for which she received applause from Poles and non-Poles?"

Responding to these views, M. Rakowski said they were insinuations. Nor is it true that the people at the meeting had been especially selected. He explained that from the several thousand letters he had received he had selected the authors of those letters who in his opinion represented interesting views. That is why he did not know who would be present at the meeting. He was accused of having demagogically arranged for the show of hands in reply to the question of whether his fingers were clean. He said he had received a letter from some people living in the place where the accuser lives. These people wrote that he who alleges that the government's fingers are not clean should himself have clean fingers, but that the vice premier's guest had received a suspended sentence of 20 months in 1978 for embezzling public property. The letter proved the true position, which is additional proof, M. Rakowski said, that the lives of the guests were not screened before the meeting and that candidate guests were not selected.

Other letters presented by M. Rakowski concerned the way in which the meeting had been held. For example, the host was accused of having been too nervous. One letter stated that the bossy treatment of the participants in the meeting spoiled the whole show. Another letter resented bossism because it illustrated the old habit of treating people like a herd of idiots who can be told to believe only the truths pointed out by the fingers of those in power.

M. Rakowski recalled that he had spoken only on the issues he considered especially painful and that the movement of his hand that had resembled a threatening gesture meant that every trace of anarchy will be uprooted in Poland. It is a sorry and dishonest thing, he said, that the authors of those letters had not noted that he apologized during a break for having raised his voice at times.

Further, he said that a politician should himself be in every situation and must have the courage to speak up even on unpopular matters.

He also received letters with unambiguously gross contents and cited passages from them before TV cameras. He did this in order to counter the view that he had selected his letters one-sidedly and for reasons of good propaganda.

Having read out the invectives addressed to him, M. Rakowski said that one can have grudges and can criticize the power apparatus, but that hatred illustrated the thesis that there also are in our country political forces which would cut up representatives of this apparatus with razor blades if they could.

Replying to a question of why television had shown only part of the meeting and why he had not replied to all questions put to him, M. Rakowski said that the screening of the entire meeting would have missed its aim and tired out the viewers. The aim was to convey the climate and content of the meeting, and this was probably achieved.

Some people wrote that the November meeting was a harbinger of the correct style of government and of the departure from arrogance, from the extremely conceited idea that one is infallible and from the tendency to regard as enemies all those who criticize. At this point, M. Rakowski recalled that the country's political and state leadership had many times publicly asserted through Gen W. Jaruzelski that it did not consider itself a group of people who do not make any errors and who are unable to admit such errors.

M. Rakowski also said that his meeting was nothing accidental and that Vice Premier Obodowski and Minister Wojtecki also had such meetings. These meetings can be described as platforms upon which one is able to listen to the various views of citizens and to consult on various issues. Another task is to present the policy of the government and the intentions of the power apparatus as well as the people who form the government. M. Rakowski recalled Gen W. Jaruzelski's words that the government is doing its work with the curtain up and that it has nothing to conceal. This style of work is already practiced by the power apparatus and this practice may be improved and enriched. This is already a permanent and important element of our reality--of what we describe as socialist renewal.

M. Rakowski referred to the view of one of the authors of the letters who said that it was still too early for meetings such as the one on 6 November. I do not share this view, he said, and added: Even if we do not agree on many issues, we will certainly agree on one issue, and that is that it is nationally necessary to search for as many points of convergence as possible. It is necessary to multiply these points in the interest of everyone because we all constitute a single community called the Polish people.

RAKOWSKI MEETS WITH PARTY, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AKTIV IN KROSNO

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 2 Dec 82 p 3

/Interview with Mieczyslaw Franciszek Rakowski, vice premier, at his meeting with party, economic and social aktiv of the sub-Carpathian region, transcribed from tape and prepared for press by Edward Wysz: "We Are Able to Overcome the Crisis"; 26 Nov 1982, Krosno

/Text This publication is an unauthorized transcription of the recording made at a meeting of Vice Premier Mieczyslaw Franciszek Rakowski with party, economic and social activists of the sub-Carpathian region. As we have reported earlier, the meeting took place last Friday, 26 November 1982, in Krosno.

From the vice premier's talk with over 400 people present, we have selected for publication those questions and answers, which on the one hand, often evidenced insufficient availability of information, but on the other hand, were indicative of the interests of our society, wishing to know what is currently taking place in the spheres of both the base and the superstructure: in the economy, politics, culture, education--including, for example, such questions as to what the government was guided by when adopting this or that specific decision, what are the guarantees of coming out of the crisis, etc.

Talks About the Party

/Question Alongside the positive changes brought about by the campaign of rendering accounts, a number of negative phenomena are observed in the party: there is a decline in the activity of party members and, even worse, among the party leadership. Is the Central Committee aware of that?

/Answer It certainly is. After all, Central Committee consists of people from your midst--workers, farmers, representatives of the intelligentsia. The sum total of their knowledge is accumulated at Central Committee. Returning to the question... The ebb in the party activity is a result of the fact that the party, with heavy losses, is now living through a very hard

period opened by the August 1980 events. If the social and economic crisis became obvious at that time for Poland, it is beyond any doubt that the party also was affected by it. At that time, part of the members--as I believe--under the pressure of difficult circumstances strengthened their ties to the party, while another part left it (several thousands of people stepped out of the party) and still others are dawdling on the sidelines or merely pretending that they are members. I think that, in face of the negative phenomena, we are on the right road. And, even if now there might be fewer of us, these are more courageous people, capable of overcoming difficulties and adversities, so that we will certainly regain a base in society and its trust. The attention of the Political Bureau, the Secretariat of Central Committee and of the Central Committee in general is focused on creating conditions that would promote the revitalization of party activity. Of course, this will be activity of a different kind than that of the 1970's. It will also be a different activity than what occurred in 1981, when a lot of party members, on "Solidarity's" inspiration, were vociferous at meetings and tried to drive their leadership against the wall. There will be no such activity, and I don't think it should come. I believe, on the contrary, that we should follow a path that will enable us to become a real and reliable political force in the nation. For only such a force has a chance to come out victorious from every struggle. That struggle still goes on and will go on, above all, for the socialist essence, for people's minds. Even if a part of the party membership leaves our ranks--never mind. Quality is what counts.

/Question/ What about the ideological declaration of PZPR? The party is waiting for such a declaration. How do you account for this sluggishness?

/Answer/ It is difficult for me to give a specific answer to this question, since I do not know if, in fact, the entire party is waiting for the declaration and is unable to proceed without it with its activities, does not know where it should be going. A draft of the declaration, as everybody knows, has been discussed by the party. Actually, it is an extremely difficult thing to create something new, fresh. They are racking their brains over this at the party headquarters. Personally, I believe that what we are fighting for, what we are striving at, is known to each and every one of us. Besides, quite frequently, daily needs and factors are responsible for the fact that the work on the declaration is slightly delayed. In the past few months, we have been busy working on the settlement of the most important issue--that of the trade unions. So, it is not a matter of sluggishness, but rather a matter of resolving those problems which are most important today.

/Question/ What is the opinion of Comrade Vice Premier concerning the principle of frequent rotation of the functions of the first secretaries? Five years is too little to be able to become familiarized with the specific problems of the individual communities. In larger cities, the first secretary will not even be able to visit each organization within this period.

/Answer/ Here we are! We had no rotation--and it was bad. Now we have the five-year term--and again it is bad. Indeed, it is hard to please everybody. I do not think--maybe I am wrong--that a first secretary, for instance, of a

voivodship committee should visit every organization during his term of service. If he can do that, fine. Myself, for example, as a vice premier concerned with--generally speaking--problems of the superstructure, I have not been to all Polish theaters, have not even been in all voivodships, as I am not a vice premier, and he is not the first secretary of a voivodship committee, in order to run around from organization to organization. After all, the party or a party echelon is a living organism, which consists of many people and not just one person. A first secretary, of course, can come to local organizations, and must visit them, but his main function is to analyze the developments in the community, the position of the executive committee, the information reported by the secretaries--in short, gathering information and on this basis motivating the collective that he leads towards performance of certain actions. This can be done without visiting every organization. Sometimes it is enough to go to just a couple of them, and one understands the situation, since additional sources of information are available.

Now, is five years too short? Our experiences show that, when individuals, the cadre, remained in the same positions too long, facts suggested that this new principle is a valid principle, although obviously one should not treat it as the Ten Commandments--for even those are sometimes violated. For instance, if this or that voivodship has a first secretary with exceptional leadership qualities, one should, after five years, to my mind, deliberate whether he must absolutely resign or should stay on. This principle should be controlled by the will of the party organization in question.

#### On Young People

/Question/ Why did the students delete from the title of their new organization the word "socialist"? Did this word in any way interfere with the conduct of the social and communal activities of students?

/Answer/ The question is a broader one. The Socialist Union of Polish Youth /SZSP/ did not comprise even 20 percent of the students. The word "socialist" was added to its name in the 1970's, when it was recognized that we had entered the stage of construction of advanced socialist society and, accordingly, every youth organization was supposed to inscribe "socialist" into its name. Only the Polish Scout Union /ZHP/ escaped this drive at that time. However, what matters is not the word but the essence. The Union of Polish Youth had a long tradition. Thousands of wonderful people grew out of its ranks. What did it matter that later the word "socialist" was added? You all know what kind of things were taking place on the campuses. I understand the intention of the young people in this way: They want to return to the traditions of the Union of Polish Youth. For traditions have a major part to play here. On the other hand, this by no means blocks the way to other organizations, which have exclusively ideological goals, such as, for instance, the Union of Socialist Polish Youth /ZSMP/. There is no such policy that would rule out the existence of other organizations on the campus.

/Question/ How long will the government "play around" with the college students who organize all sorts of incidents and reckless acts? Let them either study or be sent to work. We are paying for them, and they just brawl and row. The same is true of high school students.

/Answer/ First of all, we are not playing with the students who organize all kinds of incidents in a situation when all of us need peace. I beg to recall, however, that on 10 November 1982, 5 percent of Polish students and perhaps even less took part in the demonstrations. We cannot, therefore, extend the blame to all of the students. Likewise, certain actions of a marginal significance in high schools give no grounds for the generalization that all of the youth are bad. I am not one of those who think that violations of public order should be winked at, but at the same time I caution against generalizations.

/Question/ What for do we divide society into the old and the young?

/Answer/ We do not. Generally, Poland is a nation of young people. In the state, in the government, all the possibilities should be utilized to improve the life of the young people. I disagree with the view that once there is a crisis, there are no prospects for the young. Nations have passed through worse crises, which affected the young people more, and in one way or another they came out. Basically, if the younger generation of the Polish people wants to speed up the emergence from the crisis, to improve their living conditions, there is no other way out but to roll up the sleeves and become a dynamic force in straightening out the socioeconomic situation. Young people should be treated as part and parcel of the nation, but in the sense of imposing on them greater responsibilities than on the older, already tired generation.

/Question/ Why does not the government allow emigration?

/Answer/ A gradual easing of passport regulations is envisaged. We can, for instance, permit emigration, but this is far from saying that this or that particular individual will leave, as nobody will accept him. Emigration limits are strictly defined, and an infinitesimal number receive visas from a few particular embassies. After all, in America, for instance, there are currently 11.5 million unemployed, and in European Economic Community countries, 15 million. All those nations are warding themselves against admission of new arrivals. Just recently someone in the United States proposed that the Poles who had stayed in America after the introduction of the martial law be authorized an extension of their stay for half a year. No one is rushing to accept Poles. Besides, a lot of the time, these Poles are treated in those countries as lumber. It is only from here that it seems to some that in the West they are waiting with open arms for those "Solidarity" heroes. A visitor, a lady from West Berlin that came to talk with me said, "Please do something soon to stop letting people out, especially young people." For in Germany they are beginning simply to hate the Poles. It is only Radio Free Europe that keeps claiming that, there, it is wonderful. In reality, a young person who emigrates strengthens the ranks of the unemployed. A different matter, if he has a good specialty such as electronics--then he finds a job. The masses of the ordinary people, however--and that is the kind who emigrate--under no circumstances.

## On Self-Government, Trade Unions and Political Divisions

/Question/ Is work on the new statutes for elections to the Sejm and the people's councils under way and how far has it advanced?

/Answer/ Work on Sejm electoral statutes has not yet started, but as regards the people's councils, the answer is yes, and, in fact, a draft statute on regional self-government and people's councils has been submitted to the Sejm. This draft is to be placed on the agenda shortly.

/Question/ Is any work going on for a reform of the political divisions?

/Answer/ No, it is not. All that has been done so far was introducing certain corrections to voivodship boundaries. Corrections can be made, as mistakes had been committed. But no more reshufflings are foreseen, as what we need is not one more recarving of Poland into new political divisions. We are concerned, from the point of view of the state's and the society's interests, with leading the country out of crisis, with ensuring as much peace as possible. Finding a situation in which the public would not be disturbed by ever new developments capable of disquieting the public opinion.

/Question/ What are the ideas concerning the creation of structures of trade unions? If today there are no concepts, how does the government visualize consulting on certain issues with trade unions?

/Answer/ The person who asked this question has not bothered to get acquainted with what has been written and spoken concerning trade unions and their structure. A concept does exist. We envisage 1983 as the year during which trade union organizations will be created at enterprises, and, in 1984, development of structures at super-enterprise level will be initiated. At any rate, we have so many different other forms of consultation that we can, for some time, manage without consultations with organizations above the level of an enterprise. So, it is not true that we do not have the capabilities for contacts with enterprise unions on factory premises, or for consulting on issues essential for the public. We have been doing this thus far and will continue doing it. We have in Poland several hundred factories employing several thousand, sometimes from ten to twenty thousand, workers. If we probe the public opinion at these enterprises, which does not mean that we want to underestimate smaller enterprises, we think that such is the opinion, such are the views held by a majority of the working class. Thus, absence of super-enterprise structures by no means rules out reliable opinion probes.

## On Red Tape

/Question/ What has been done in order to get rid of the red tape? The feeling of people at the ground level is that bureaucracy is growing. To solve one problem today one has to draw up five schedules. This is required by the party, administrative, army and industry controls.



/Answer/ Every one of us must ask himself, What have I done to avoid being a bureaucrat? A lot of people asking such questions are bureaucrats in their everyday activities. And then they ask us what we have done on this count. I have already spoken publicly on this issue. Even if we had an "open season" on bureaucrats every month, they would still exist. This is an element of the present-day government machine, and, in addition, unfortunately, such are our traditions.

What has been done in this area? I can say that we do what we can and not what we often would like to do. It is a monstrous Hydra that regenerates itself. I have also received signals that the number of reports submitted is again growing. We perceive this as a signal. However, frankly, getting rid of the red tape depends on all of us. Take a closer look at the group where you work and think--do the people, when they see unnecessary work, protest publicly, even if they talk about it among themselves or at home? Let them protest openly, calling to it the attention of the authorities, of their superiors, let them say what is unnecessary and what totally futile. Are we alone supposed to do all that?

Reform, Supplies, Wages, Prices

/Question/ What are the main principles of bringing our economy out of crisis? Some say that the problem will be resolved by the reform. I believe that we should work out several concrete principles and concentrate on them our economic potential and human effort.

/Answer/ Let the person who asked this question work out those concrete principles. We do have concrete programs, and ways leading out of the crisis have been mapped out quite concretely. What other concrete concepts are we supposed to produce? One must simply work well, prevent strikes, raise labor productivity, improve organization of work and nothing else. Miracles do not exist. There can be no other program.

The reform will not resolve all problems. The reform is a means to accelerate the resolution of the crisis. In its basic principle it is aimed at making more efficient the entire government system, the national economic management, making more efficient the economic life of this nation. This is the main goal of the reform.

/Question/ Why did the Government Presidium introduce certain corrections of the principles of the reform only 10 months after it began to be implemented? However, the party and economic activists had criticized the Vocational Activation Fund /FAZ/, which impeded labor productivity, from the very beginning.

/Answer/ It could not take a critical look at the effects of the reform just 2 or 3 months after it started. It was necessary to accumulate experiences. Criticism by party and economic activists is extremely valuable, but such criticism must also be passed through the centrifuge of experiences.

/Question/ When will the model wage-rate chart be issued? It would function as a kind of a reference system whereby the enterprises could be guided in setting the specific pay rates for the individual specialties employed by them.

/Answer/ I do not know when it will be issued. The issue, however, is in general just one component of the overall wages reform due in our national economy, since the entire wages structure has been in recent years, and not only in recent years, turned upside down, and must be based on totally different vocational classifications. This requires tremendous preparatory work, tremendous efforts. Besides, such reform will be exceptionally controversial. It will touch upon what is most important to the average person--how much he has in his pocket.

One could talk about the reform for hours, undertake in this area all kinds of actions. But an individual will define his stance towards the government in terms of how much means he will have and how with these means he will be able to improve his standard of living.

/Question/ What is the position of Mr Vice Premier in regard to various Polonia companies? We know of an example where, based on our raw materials, products are manufactured and exported abroad.

/Answer/ I do not see anything wrong with their being exported. But I have a question: What kind of raw materials are those, do we have them in sufficient amounts, and don't those companies hold back state industry by using them? Generally, Polonia companies were set up to attract western capital into this country, so that we could use this capital to produce goods both for our domestic market and for export. They are not to be blamed that at the same time an opportunity was created for certain individuals to stuff their wallets. This was largely the fault of our financial and administrative agencies. The point now is not to dismantle the companies but to introduce proper policies in dealing with them. A system should be set up that would preclude a person from earning, for instance, 400 million zlotys within one year--and such facts also sometimes occur. If there are 300 Polonia companies in Poland, one must assume in advance that some loafers would be among them. I repeat: We are not talking about throwing out the companies, just about conducting in regard to them a policy ensuring that they really serve our interests. Also, it so happens with us that no sooner something new appears as it is run into ground. And it is run into ground because we, too, have our own domestic monopolists who are spreading around nonsense about those companies.

/Question/ Why is it said that the output is growing while this is not visible in our markets?

/Answer/ I would not say so, and would refer the person who asked this to what we had in the fall of 1981. Just remember the sight of our stores at that time. The shelves were really shining with emptiness. In general, by noting the fact of increased output, we are not saying that here we have a phenomenon that is producing the desired effect. It is growth, but still a minimal growth. We are beginning, just a little, to rise from the bottom. But the drop in output, compared with 1979 or 1980, is still great. We have passed only the most critical point. We have achieved a certain progress in the production of the basic necessities for the population.

/Question/ Workers are unnerved by the contract prices. Contract between whom and whom? It looks as though everybody is party to the contracts except for the buyer. Contract prices frequently result in a drop of productivity.

/Answer/ On the one hand, there was pressure and people were saying that we did not want to make a reform--and an integral part of the reform that has been introduced is contract prices set by enterprises but remaining under government control. These prices, in fact, must make the economy really efficient. Now we hear reproaches, "Who made contracts with whom?" We are decreasing the index of contract prices. We are including increasingly more prices in the index of state prices, because there is a strong public pressure. Such are dilemmas facing the government.

/Question/ When will we stop dividing the work force into directors and workers?

/Answer/ I do not understand the question. There will always be directors and there will always be workers. When one states the fact that at a factory there are the staff of engineers and technicians, the director and the workers, does this imply a division? Not at all. We are dealing here, and will be dealing, with an objective reality. I do not see here any conflict.

/Question/ The rumor is circulating persistently about a currency reform.

/Answer/ How can I help it? Let it circulate. We have announced repeatedly that there will be no reform. They do not believe it? Too bad.

#### On Criticism

/Question/ The massive criticism of the administration by the media, often unjustified, is doing injustice to these people. Is this fair?

/Answer/ If it is distorting criticism, it is unfair. Generally, however, I believe that criticism of the administration is indispensable. For every government has a certain tendency to lose touch with the people, at least for a short time. And to get into a situation, which can best be described by this phrase: I know better. For this reason there must be control over the government. Mass media perform this function. Do they always perform it in a good, objective manner? Not always. I will say simply, If you do not like what a journalist has written, if he was wrong, write to the paper, force it to print a retraction of the incorrect statements.

3200

CSO: 2600/152

## ROMANIA

### TALKS WITH ITALIAN SPD REJECT 'MODELS' FOR SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

Bucharest LUMEA in Romanian 4 Nov 82 p 3

[Article by Radu Bogdan: "Roundtable organized between the Romanian Communist Party and the Italian Socialist Democratic Party"]

[Text] One of the principal guidelines of the international activity carried out by the Romanian Communist Party is, as it is well known, the wide development of contacts with communist, socialist and social-democratic parties, and with all anti-imperialist, democratic workers organizations. The broad opening up of a dialogue with the principle trends of thought of the workers movement was reaffirmed by the organization, recently, in Bucharest, of a roundtable on socio-political and theoretical problems and on the international situation, between the Romanian Communist Party and the Italian Socialist Democratic Party.

Of course, the roundtable permitted a wide exchange of opinions in regard to the activity of the two parties in the international sphere and the current objectives of the struggle for detente and peace in the world. Aside from the diversity of opinions on one subject or another, the discussions --carried out in an atmosphere of mutual respect and esteem--revealed numerous areas of agreement.

Our party's delegation presented the specific characteristics of the system of the central and local organs of state power, the experience accumulated after the 9th party congress in strengthening and perfecting socialist democracy, developing self-management and self-administration, and creating and perfecting the economic-financial mechanism. The leader of the Italian Socialist Democratic Party delegation, Ruggero Poletti, the deputy secretary general of the party, said: "We know and appreciate the great progress registered by socialist Romania in the transformation of her economy, the progress in renewing society, from all points of view, under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu."

On the basis of the concrete realities existing in the two countries and the experience gained so far, the participants in the roundtable treated a

number of aspects connected with the paths to socialism and with the manner of understanding the situation in one socialist country or another. It was stressed, also, that the movement of one people or another to socialism is a process of history which cannot accept preconceived models and that this is achieved and will be achieved in accordance with the social realities in each country. It was pointed out that, for this reason, it is necessary that the realities in other countries, including those in the socialist countries, not be perceived through the intermediary of stereotypes which are based on completely different conditions. Emphasizing that there is no model for socialist construction, that the general laws are applied differently from one country to another, from one stage of socio-economic development to another, the participants in the discussion combatted those forms of dogmatism which lose sight of the fact that life has refuted and is refuting a number of these devised more than a century ago by the classics of Marxism, or theses which relate every new experience to the revolutionary practice of a single state, using, for this purpose, pre-established canons.

At present--the leader of the Romanian Communist Party delegation, Comrade Dumitru Popescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, stressed--we have a new physiognomy of socialist thought, which differs from one country to another. Our party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, are exponents of a Marxist ideology which is mobile and open to everything which revolutionary national and international practice has produced and is producing. We are open to the experience and thought of the other communist and workers parties, of other realistic trends which do not belong to Marxism, but which have led, through their own means, to generally useful conclusions. For our party, in the ideology of building socialism, the main thing is the goal, which is the creation of a society of equality, justice, well-being and full freedom of expression for man.

A large part of the roundtable discussions was devoted to the positions of the two countries in regard to current problems of international life and the exchange of opinions revealed a broad agreement of views. The representatives of the Italian Socialist Democratic Party expressed high regard for the foreign policy of socialist Romania and for the peace and disarmament initiatives of President Nicolae Ceausescu.

The increasingly more important role of the united struggle of peoples for achieving the vital goal of disarmament was stressed in particular.

During the discussions, especially strong emphasis was placed on the need for the continued development of collaboration on many levels among states with different socio-economic systems, in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence; in this context, it was stated that discriminatory practices in the economic or political sphere only contribute to the aggravation of international tension, to the restraining of the progress of each country, thus affecting the world economy as a whole and the solution of global problems which confront all mankind. In regard to Europe, it was emphasized that the process initiated in Helsinki a decade ago

should not only be preserved but should also be developed, since it is the only means of progressing to a Europe based on respect for the social systems of each country and on the renunciation, once and for all, of the use of force in relations among state. The discussions stressed the importance of surmounting current differences and concluding the general European meeting in Madrid with positive results and of convoking, in the framework of this meeting, a conference on confidence-building measures and disarmament in Europe and the importance of ensuring the continuity of the Helsinki process by setting the date and site of the future meeting of European states. The representatives of the Italian Socialist Democratic Party stressed that "the choice of the capital of Romania as the site of the future general European meeting would signify recognition of the original characteristics and merits of the foreign policy promoted by Romania and by President Nicolae Ceausescu."

In its entire development, the open and sincere dialogue between the delegations of the two parties, during this recent roundtable, was of a nature to contribute to a better understanding of the positions of the two parties, to the development of contacts among them, to the advantage of the intensification of traditional relations between Romania and Italy, for the cause of peace and security in Europe and in the world.

CSO: 2700/81

ROMANIA

'PRIMITIVE CONCEPTS' BLAMED FOR INCIDENCE OF 'UNATTENDED BIRTHS'

Bucharest MUNCITORUL SANITAR in Romanian 23 Oct 82 pp 1, 6

[Article by Dr Ion Tutunaru: "Unattended Births"]

[Excerpts] Even though they are few in number, unattended births represent a real situation which deserves special attention. The term "unattended births" is paradoxical for our times. The words seem to be unrealistic but, we are constantly receiving reports of these terrible, incomprehensible realities. In the provinces, we find pregnant women who have not had any medical examinations, who do not know what month of pregnancy they are in. We find women about to give birth who do not know that they are pregnant. We find women in advanced stages of labor who will not allow themselves to be brought to the nearest hospital. In such cases, the death of the mother, the death of the infant and the death of both mother and child can easily occur. There are many reasons for this situation. Some of these causes stem from the level of the general culture and medical culture of the population. Most of the population, benefitting from broad and unrestricted access to medical care, is always receptive to medical advice and instructions. However, a part of the population remains "unbending" in the face of all the efforts of medical personnel and, refusing the prophylactic medical umbrella, eliminate from their sphere of interests any health education activity.

Retrograde and truly primitive concepts still exist and, perhaps, they will be giving us trouble for some time to come. Quite often, however, the "guilty party" is the deficient medical activity in the residential and enterprise medical dispensaries, the shortcomings to observe labor laws, excessive activity which can endanger a pregnancy which has been normal, and the existence of neglected chronic illnesses, are some elements which can lead to an undesired "unattended birth."

CSO: 2700/80

# ROLE OF STATE, POLITICAL SYSTEM UNDER SOCIALISM

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 19, 5 Oct 82 pp 15-19

[Conference report by Ion Iuga, with contributions from Lecturer Manea Babut, Stefan Gheorghiu Academy; Lecturer Gheorghe Bobos, dean of Law School, Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca; Prof Ioan Ceterchi, vice-chairman of the Academy for Social and Political Sciences; Prof Tamara Dobrin, executive chairwoman of the National Council of the Front for Democracy and Socialist Unity; Prof Ladislau Lorincz, Stefan Gheorghiu Academy; Lecturer Nicolae Popa, Bucharest University; Dr Sofia Popescu, principal scientific researcher, Institute for Judicial Research; Prof Ovidiu Trasnea, Stefan Gheorghiu Academy; and Prof Constantin Vlad, director of the Institute for Political Sciences and the Study of the National Problem]

[Text] The organization and management of our socialist society; the continued development of the workers' democracy; improvements in the organized framework for mass participation in the management of society; greater role of party, state, and mass and public organizations; stronger control on the part of the people's masses; dialectic of the relationship between party and state; firm application of socialist law and standards of social life; these, as well as other topics, were subjected to profound analysis by the expanded plenary session of the Central Committee of the RCP, held on 1-2 June of this year. In the light of the creative contribution of the party and its secretary general, Nicolae Ceausescu, to the theory and practice of political management of the society, the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy, and the magazine ERA SOCIALISTA, organized an interdisciplinary conference on "The Concept of Political System in Socialism; Evolution of our State's Functions Under the Conditions of a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society." Participating in the conference were party, state, and mass and public organization staffs, university teaching staffs, scientific researchers in various fields, and other specialists. Herewith, in an abbreviated form, are the contributions of some of the participants.



Ioan Ceterchi

The present paper falls among the topics approved and recommended by the party leadership for discussions designed to achieve a better understanding of the various aspects of our social and political life.

The Romanian and foreign literatures have published several, some of them interesting, theories about the concept of political system. What interests us primarily, and what we want to discuss here, is the creation of the Romanian socialist political system, its development at the present stage, and the manner in which the party has fought to adopt new forms of sociopolitical management and organization. At present, Romania has its own, original, profoundly democratic system of sociopolitical organization, which assures the scientific management of society through the consistent application of the principles of mass participation in management, and of the principles of self-management and self-administration. In the discussion, we want to especially dwell on features of the concept of political system, as well as on some problems of its functionality.

Ovidiu Trasnea

Discussions in recent years about the dialectic of political systems in general, and of our socialist political system in particular, have tried to clarify various problems. Together with other colleagues, we have written a paper about Romania's political system, examining changes and new trends, as well as the forms in which these trends manifest themselves, in order to interpret as correctly as possible and probe more deeply, at the level which the party so consistently requires, the most current problems of the political system.

I might point out that the concept of political system has been widely circulated in studies and textbooks, with strong emphasis on the assessment of theoretical and methodological aspects. On the other hand, I also might state that in the evolution of the concept itself, one can observe the "sensitivity" of the political system perceived in its continued development and improvement. This confirms the validity of the steps taken by our party to reject outdated, hardened formulas, and a non-dialectic view of the political system, and instead, to affirm its open nature and its ability to react effectively and optimally to changes. It is obvious that the processes occurring in society are increasingly rapid, and that the phenomena that appear throughout the world are leaving their stamp on the evolution of all political systems. In fact, the problem of relations between civilian society and the political system, between society and the state, is becoming one of the major problems of our decade throughout the world.

Starting with the new guidelines of party documents, we can see that in the past we have overlooked the overwhelming importance of the values of the true revolutionary spirit, and those of socialist humanism and democratism, in the study and definition of the elements of our political system. Too little theoretical value has been placed on the impact between political standards

and the Code of Socialist Ethics and Justice, a fact of outstanding importance in the present context. From this standpoint, I believe that it has become appropriate to study in greater depth the implementation of this code's provisions in the effective operation of the social and political system.

At the same time, I believe that the need to promote a new quality in all fields, also redefines the approach to the political system, especially for determining the efficiency of its performance. Because this is not simply a matter of reaching goals in one way or other, but rather of the qualitative parameters of the system's operation; in other words, it concerns the material, as well as political and moral, costs which in fact characterize the fulfillment of any political decision.

Some aspects which I merely mention in passing, are the structure and dynamics of the political system. On repeated occasions, Nicolae Ceausescu has raised points of particular significance about understanding the leadership role of the party. It has been said that in a socialist political system in which the party has more than 3 million members, we must examine among other things the viability of the concept of progressive party, and the possible or real meaning of this concept in our society.

One aspect which requires a more profound elaboration, is that of workers' self-management organs. We have agreed to provide these organs with an independent position in the structure of elements composing the political system. In studying the party documents, we gather the impression that we are asked to do much more: to soundly research the process of blending various formats into an institutionalized activity, while developing workers' self-management, strengthening the role of the state, and developing collective management organizations, as inseparable parts of the structure of our socialist state. The sense and mode in which we must understand the process of presumptive disappearance of the state, the improper nature of dictatorship of the proletariat as a definition of the nature and methods used by our state, and the significance--in this context--of the new measures for developing the workers' democracy, are also problems that await an answer from political science. I believe that it is not a matter solely of responding to the use and specific content of some terms, but also of the effort necessary to extract the actual essence, and especially the organic tendency toward development, of the socialist democracy and state, of our entire political system.

Nicolae Popa

The point raised by Ovidiu Trasnea can also be examined from the standpoint of the place and role of self-management and self-management organs. These new social realities must find a well defined position in our political system, and become organically integrated in it, as they do into constitutional provisions. Relationships between self-management and state organs, and the functions of self-management organs distributed through their various acts of formation, could also be reflected within constitutional provisions in a synthetic regulation.

Sofia Popescu

It should be noted that following the Ninth Party Congress, as part of the affirmation of socialist democracy, the idea of improving the forms that achieve the transition to communist self-management has helped eliminate the single-minded vision of moving from state to social self-management exclusively through the transfer of some state functions to public organizations. At the Second Workers' Congress it was shown that some forms of self-management have already been established in our country, since the congresses formed at a national level and similar organs are forms of direct participation of the masses in the management of society. We, as social science specialists, have the obligation to study these forms and disseminate the experience acquired with them.

As part of our political system, the forms of direct participation of workers in management also involve, among other things, collaboration between state organs and the organizations that compose the Front for Socialist Democracy and Unity (FDUS). Hence the need to elucidate, to decode the content of this process, and to evaluate the contribution of public organizations to the fulfillment of state functions for improving our political system.

Some attempts have been made to reassess the value of the functions of the state and of the socialist political system in assuring a superior quality of life, a fundamental objective at the present stage, as stressed at the expanded plenary session of the Central Committee of the RCP of 1-2 June. The debate about the quality of life, conducted by economists, philosophers, and sociologists in ERA SOCIALISTA, has drawn attention to the need for a better understanding of the correlation between the social function of the state and its humanist final purpose. More precisely for instance, it deals with the position that such a basic component of the quality of life as the right to work, belongs in the sphere of some state functions.

One dimension of the quality of life, is the degree of social integration, which is closely connected with the state's function of protecting socialist progress and combatting antisocial actions. Infractions are manifestations of a lack of social integration, and the social reintegration of those who have violated legal regulations, as well as the participation of the collectivity in assuring legal order and preventing antisocial actions, require the intervention of public organizations. It is understood that the economic aspect of the quality of life raises new problems. The state is an instrument in the hands of the working class, of all workers, for the organized fulfillment of socioeconomic development, and to provide optimum conditions for the country's development. At the present stage, within the economic function, it is very important to achieve high productivity, raise the technical and qualitative level of production and efficiency, as well as establish a lasting correlation between production and consumption through rational and efficient consumption. I certainly have no intention to minimize this important economic resource for assuring an optimum quality of life; but I do want to show that it also involves other functions, such as the educational function of the socialist state.

The economic dimension of the quality of life is profoundly influenced by consumption attitudes, by the consumer mentality. I don't believe we should continue to overlook the tendency to avoid the contradiction that could arise at one time between the position of owner and producer on one hand, and between the position of user, including the position of consumer, on the other hand. I am referring to aspects associated with an accurate evaluation of real individual needs, with an understanding of the fact that at a given moment, society has specific resources for satisfying individual needs that must be scientifically founded, and accurately and rationally represented.

Gheorghe Bobos

I want to draw attention to the functions of the socialist democracy system, to the institutional elements that today form the concept of political system. The specialized literature indicates that what we conventionally denote as functions of the state, can be considered as being functions of the socialist democracy system, or functions of the political system, when viewed in the light of participation from public organizations. I personally share this opinion. I believe it is necessary to continue to strengthen the relationship between the functions of the socialist democracy system on one hand, and the functions of the state and law, on the other hand.

There exists another problem, which is the close connection between the state and law. Research at times stresses this separation, expressing a preference only for the problems of the state or only for those of law. But these are aspects that must be viewed as closely linked. In scientific investigations, the problems of the state and of law must be approached as one, primarily due to the obvious fact that their essence and functions are generally common to both.

Constantin Vlad

Both the structure and the functionality of our political system have many specific, original features. These characteristics can be understood only if the political system is examined not by itself, but in relation with society, and with the social factors which it determines. In this respect I agree with Ovidiu Trasnea regarding the growing importance that must be given to values, and first of all to political values, in understanding the evolutions that occur at the political level. To this I will add that we should examine more thoroughly the role of social interest, both in structuring the political system, and in its operation. We often speak of the political system as such, leaving in the background the fundamental truth that in final analysis, political power expresses certain social relationships, certain positions of social classes, which as we know are materialized in interests, or which express interests. Thus, our political system reflects the fundamental reality of the Romanian nation's unity, of the classes and social categories that are in the process of forming, a unity objectively determined by the existence of socialist social ownership of the means of production, and by the existence of the fundamental common interest of the entire nation in advancing the country toward the building of a multilaterally developed socialist society, and eventually the creation of a communist society. At the same

time, the political system is so formulated as to take into account a diversity of interests among various socio-professional, age, and other categories. Once again, this refers to a diversity of interests that do not cancel each other, and that are based on the fundamental interests of the entire nation, in the meaning indicated above. This dialectic relationship between unity and diversity expresses a profound, realistic understanding of socialist social mobility, an understanding which encompasses neither negativism nor idyllicism. In the spirit of this dialectic, the political system is formed and operates to promote that which is fundamental and advanced in society, to adapt and match the interests of various socio-professional categories with the general interests of society, to enable these socio-professional categories to participate in the management of society, and to strengthen that which is fundamental in the position and interests of workers.

We often speak of the party's role in determining shortcomings or the difficulties and contradictions that can arise in the socialist society, as well as in solving these problems in time, a role--as we know--which is of crucial importance for successfully building the new order. I believe that we should be more aware of the fact that various links of the political system have important functions in sociopolitical life. In fact it is also through them that the party fulfills its function of leading political force in society, learns of problems in various domains of social life and various social categories, and analyzes these problems with a view to finding solutions for them.

Therefore, to understand the dynamics of our political system and its role, we should be more aware of the meaning assigned by Nicolae Ceausescu to the concept of pluralism in our society, namely, that our society is not one in which differences are obliterated; many differences still exist, and some of them are not small by any means. Consequently, society must have a mechanism through which these differences can be expressed and channeled so that their manifestation will lead to a stronger new order, rather than to an accumulation of difficulties. As constituted and operating in our country, the political system is designed to respond to such needs.

In this light, the combination of state and public elements in social activities acquires distinct values and meanings. This position of not establishing rigid boundaries between the life of the state, between the state as expression of political power and public organizations, which in a larger way express the presence and manifestation of the masses in the process of participation in decisions, in the exercise of power, this position in my opinion is extremely fraught with meaning and can provide us with the key to understanding many of the phenomena which occur in our society. This seems to me to be the spirit of the expanded plenary session of the Central Committee of the RCP of 1-2 June. In this spirit, a fair balance must be maintained at all times between state and public aspects in the operation of the social organism, so that the state, its organs, the state apparatus, and all that is appurtenant to the state, will benefit from public contributions while remaining themselves and fulfilling all their tasks and responsibilities toward society.

I will point out one more aspect. We often speak of the fact that in final analysis, the leadership role of the party also means in concrete terms, its integration into society. I believe that one of the most interesting and instructive points in this regard is exactly the position of the party in the political system. The party as leading factor in society, and the mass organizations integrated in the political system, appear as a unified organism within which the party itself becomes integrated in society, and is the leading political force in the political system as well. This system, which as a whole assures that the masses are drawn into the management of society, illustrates the concrete means by which the party is integrated into society and fulfills its functions by drawing the people, on a thoroughly democratic basis, into the management of social life. I believe that this is a direction in which sociopolitical research, exploiting the guidelines of the principles and practical measures taken by the party, could disseminate more broadly and more profoundly the experience achieved in our country.

Ladislau Lorincz

I would like to examine a single point, namely the very complex process of combining the activities of the party, of the state, and of the public. It has been stated here that the role of large collective organs is increasingly important; at the same time, the close association of state organ and public organ activities has also been mentioned, and it was pointed out that these organizations must become an inseparable part of the structure of our state. In my opinion, this does not lead to the integration into the state, to the "statetization" of public activities, because it is also a reverse process--the integration of the state into society. This is not a concept without content; practice has shown that the state is--to an increasingly large degree--subject to direct control from broadly democratic organizations and from workers. As part of the combination, I see a certain displacement between decision and achievement. To be sure, the decisions are made by the supreme organs of the state; but the major problem is the fulfillment of these decisions, the highly concrete participation of all in assuring their achievement. It is therefore very important to maintain the personality of various political organizations in decision making, the link between decision and achievement. All the necessary conditions exist to fulfill the decisions adopted, but a number of shortcomings in organization at the administrative, ministry, and other levels, affect the process.

Tamara Dobrin

Until recently, the FDUS role of the ODUS (Organization for Socialist Democracy and Unity) has not been the object of sufficiently significant discussions in connection with the political system.

Within the framework of the political system of our society, FDUS embodies the program principle according to which socialism is built with the people and for the people. Its structure, composition, and the objectives it seeks, as well as its broadly representative nature, express the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and intellectuals, the unity of the fundamental

interests and aspirations of all classes and social categories, the brotherly friendship between Romanian workers and workers of cohabiting nationalities, and the socialist cohesion of all sons of the nation, and make it possible to affirm the viewpoints, options, and interests of all political, professional, mass, and public organizations which compose it, and in practical terms, of the broadest people's masses, about the fundamental problems that concern the future of the country.

The FDUS participates in discussing the draft of the plan for socioeconomic development, the unified national plan, and major laws and regulatory acts which portend the future of society and mobilize the workers and all citizens of the nation in their practical implementation. Through its councils, the FDUS provides public discussion of law and decision drafts, informs the population about the party's domestic and foreign policies, and acts to intensify the participation of the masses in political life, in the management of public interest affairs, and in solving problems regarding the development of each locality. Of particular importance in this respect is the Tribune of Democracy, organized monthly in each locality in the form of a public assembly at which the people meet with representatives of local party and state organs to discuss together problems of concern, advance public interests, and engage themselves to participate effectively in fulfilling important actions of an economic and land-improvement nature.

The FDUS organizes workers' control, a broadly democratic means for the participation of the peoples' masses in solving problems of public interest in broad areas of production, trade, health, and public service activities, through which it seeks to achieve proper management of the social wealth, respect for the law, the application of principles of socialist ethics and justice, and the fulfillment of the party's policy for continued improvement of the people's standard of living, and for a higher quality of life.

The FDUS has extensive responsibilities in the sphere of culture; operating within its framework is a system of political education and information for millions of workers which are not included in party or UTC (Union of Communist Youth) education; it participates actively in the national festival The Song of Romania, coordinates the popularization of scientific and technical knowledge, and contributes to the development of mass technical creativity. It organizes electoral campaigns, presents political platforms on which it calls the citizens to vote, proposes candidates for delegates to the Grand National Assembly, and in peoples' councils, guides and controls the activity of delegates, and sees to it that they fulfill the mandate entrusted to them by the voters.

The role of FDUS in the country's political system has grown and acquired a more concrete character with the formation of ODUS, a mass political, revolutionary-patriotic organization, which conducts its activity within FDUS. Its present organizational structure covers the entire territory of the country, as well as all work and territorial-administrative units, and its members, whose number exceeds 3.5 million, have already stated their positions through their initiatives, proposals, and effective participation in

fulfilling the tasks outlined by the party in all sectors of political, economic, and social life; they participate actively in fulfilling production plans, steadily improving the quality of labor, reducing consumptions of raw and other materials, energy, and fuels, recovering and reusing secondary materials, properly maintaining machinery and tooling, rebuilding subassemblies and spare parts, and encouraging the introduction of inventions and innovations, as well as strengthening order and discipline in production. In villages, ODUS contributes to sustained development of vegetal and animal production, intensive use of land, completion of high quality projects in all sectors, dissemination of advanced agricultural and animal raising technologies among the peasantry, as well as efficient methods for increasing production and labor productivity in accordance with the imperatives of the new agrarian revolution.

ODUS organizations devote particular attention to the popularization of laws among its members, the development of an advanced legal conscience, the formation of a new concept of socialist property as basis for our order and as source for continued development of the general well-being, for a stronger independence and national sovereignty.

Disclosure of the facts about the evolution and role of FDUS and ODUS in our society is significant and conclusive for the manner in which our party conceives the political system of our society. It illustrates the idea that socialist democracy constitutes the major direction of the dynamics of Romania's present political system, being a reality that is developing and becoming more established, and intimately linked with the stages which our society is reaching, and with the overall progress of the new order.

Manea Babut

In today's world, the concepts of system and politics are far from having identical meanings, depending as they do on the various ideologies that confront one another and the particular views of the different authors who comment on them. It is clear that today, the concept of system is a consistent one in the general theory of systems within which it is formulated, and that consequently we must refer to it as a concept with very rigorous definitions. In fact, Trasnea had earlier stated here that in speaking of the political system, we do not consider it as a closed system, but rather as an open one. It is possible to define even more rigorously the reality which is designated by the concept of political system, because in my opinion, our specialized literature uses the term of political system in meanings that identify it with other concepts of system: that of socialist democracy, of power, and of the management of the socialist society. Yet I feel that there is a need and a possibility for more profound and rigorous readings of the meanings of these terms. The question we ask is whether all the elements that are part of the system of management of our socialist society at present and in the future, belong to the political system, or whether there also are some elements which are not integrated in the political system but rather in the system of management of socialist democracy?



A clearer definition is needed for some concepts: political system, system of management, and system of democracy. As we know, dialectic and historic materialism very clearly explain the causes that have led to the situation in which social management acquires a political character, namely the moment at which the state--the first political institution--makes its appearance. We know what caused the appearance of the state, and while we may or may not agree with the explanation that we receive, we cannot fail to accept the idea that the disappearance of the state will be a reality in the future. The growing management role of the party and state at the present stage is not an end in itself, but a means to attain a system of self-management, as stated in the party program, a transition to free self-government by the people, to a society which will self-manage itself.

In this sense, the term "political" also has a conventional meaning which does not coincide with management. I believe that this approach to the improvement of the management system, to finding original and efficient means for democratizing the management system through the appearance, implementation, and promotion of increasingly direct ways of direct, active, effective participation of workers in the act of social management at all moments of this management, and in all its domains and levels, is in a position to explain and derive value from the theoretical points in the work of Nicolae Ceausescu, and from the experience gained in perfecting the system of management, to an even greater degree than has been done so far. In my opinion, our political literature is in this respect still lagging behind the practical aspects of perfecting the system of management. Many topics and practices that have been used have still not been appropriately explained and argued in the political literature.

Tamara Dobrin

In discussing the state and the political system, it is particularly important to ask the question: at present and in the future, what are the relationships between the party, the state, and political and public organizations? Several opinions have been formulated in this debate, judgements have been advanced, and arguments have been made in favor of one opinion or another. I believe that in order to answer this question that is so fundamental for theory and practice, we must first of all point out the fact that the party has been, is now, and will remain, the leading political force in the society, since it has the task of organizing and managing the vast revolutionary process of advancing the country toward communism. But in this process, the party is constantly developing forms of cooperation with workers, and for public discussion of its political line, and is integrating more and more actively in the life of society, identifying with the aspirations of the working class, of the people as a whole, as the vital center of the nation. As Nicolae Ceausescu has pointed out, we start from the principle that now and in the future, the growth of the party's role as leading political force for the entire nation, presumes a more organic blending of its existence with the existence of the people as a whole, an increasingly closer association with the large masses of the people.

In the FDUS, the role of leading political force belongs to the party. But, I should add, there is no important document, no special political event, no measure regarding the country's economy, social life, culture, or policy, that is not discussed at plenary sessions of the National Council of the FDUS, or in sessions of its executive bureau, as well as in other large forums of our socialist democracy.

The creation within FDUS of ODUS, is in fact a new and original way for the party to collaborate with the people at all levels, both directly and through state organs; we need only mention in this regard the existence of vice-chairmen of peoples' councils, who represent the new organizations, or of the Tribune of Democracy, within which local state and party organs present to the citizenry concerns and projects regarding the development of their respective localities as well as their progress, and decide together how to proceed to achieve everything more rapidly and better for the good of the public. Actually, when Nicolae Ceausescu, at the Second Congress of the FDUS at the time ODUS was formed, stated that at a certain stage the party itself will disappear, he indicated that this will not occur through the creation of a void, but in fact exactly through a symbiosis of those who are members of the party and those who are not. This will result in a society with a high revolutionary conscience, in which everyone will act firmly and consciously to achieve socialism and communism.

With respect to the relationship between state organs and public organizations, which has partly resulted in what we have already mentioned, I consider it necessary to recall the indications of Nicolae Ceausescu, according to which in local councils of the FDUS and peoples' councils, delegates must report periodically on the manner in which party and state decisions are fulfilled in their respective jurisdictions, and on the progress of collaboration with the large masses of the citizenry. According to this concept, the new political organs must become integrating factors which will contribute to the continued transformation of the state, and to the growing role of the working class and the people in the management of society.

The unified, new, and comprehensive system for managing the country by the people, created and constantly developed by our party, is based on the long range historical view of self-management and self-administration by the citizenry, and constitutes the practical application of an original, profoundly revolutionary concept of the actual process for building the new social order.

Ioan Ceterchi

Our debate has succeeded in disclosing some aspects of the Romanian political system. To be sure, we could not, and we did not propose to carry out a comprehensive, exhaustive debate. The discussions have shown that we have an original political system for managing society, a system whose features derive from specific aspects of the stage at which we find ourselves, specific economic, social, and national aspects of our country; that we have succeeded in creating a mode of organization and management which assures the implementation of the party's own features of management principles; and that

we have abandoned various characteristics and formulations which life has made obsolete. From this, the discussions have derived the specific role of the state, and its importance at the present stage. The debate has defined the characterization which we must assign to our state as a state of workers' democracy, abandoning the concept of dictatorship of the proletariat.

To be sure, this raises many problems, as in fact these discussions have revealed. This is not just a matter of terminology or a problem of form, but one of essence. In my opinion, the transition from the state of dictatorship of the proletariat to the state of workers' democracy, results from a process that has occurred as our society has transformed itself into a socialist society characterized by socialist classes and social categories, and by a unified socialist economy as well as by a predominant socialist ideology, during the building of the socialist nation and the development of the homogenization process, and as we began to implement the process of management based on self-management and self-administration.

Similarly, some aspects of the state's functions have been revealed, whose dynamics need to be viewed from a dialectic standpoint. Today, we speak of the social function and of other functions that were not discussed earlier, during the stage of transition from capitalism to socialism. Functions whose nature is older have also changed their content. If for instance, we examine the most important function, the management of the economy, we need to see to what extent it performs under the conditions of the new economic-financial mechanism, noting at the same time the extent of the difference with the past. Also as a law of the development of the socialist society and of the socialist political system, as a feature and a contribution from Nicolae Ceausescu, the discussions disclosed the process of integration of the state and party in society. Referring to public organizations, it was shown that our party had long ago abandoned the characterization of "transmission belts," devoting particular attention to the adaptation of public organizations to the stage at which we find ourselves. The activity of unions, women and youth organizations, teaching staffs, writers, scientists, and those involved in cultural and art activities, was reorganized, perfected, and matched to the new realities.

These are aspects of special value, but which are lightly examined at times in our political literature.

As an original political structure, the FDUS is today the largest and most representative political organization in the country; it includes all the organizations of our political system, with the exception of the state and self-management organs. But here again, it is imperative that we take into account the combination and collaboration of state organs, self-management organs, and public organizations, the interpenetration of their activities, and in fact, the blending of party, state, public, and self-management activities. What is also to the best of my knowledge, unique to our socialist political system, is the creation of ODUS as a political organization of non-party members. Tamara Dobrin spoke of this in some detail.

The matter of understanding the political system as an integrated system, of the interdependence and interpenetration of its organs, as an open system, discussed by Constantin Vlad, is very important and current. There are interdependences and interpenetrations that are so powerful that the evolution toward a non-state communist organization, toward communist self-management of society, concerns the entire system, which is developing toward the preparation for this transition, but without skipping stages, without weakening the role of the state, the leading role of the party.

I believe that we can retain even more concrete points from our debate. It was indeed justifiably shown here that in the future, our constitutional legislation will have to be developed, enriched, and better adapted to reality. It is certain that the evolution of the political system has outgrown the system created by the constitution adopted 17 years ago.

Similarly, we all agree that our political system, as it exists today, is not perfect nor fixed, in the sense that we no longer need to improve it. On the contrary, the party's constant concern is to perfect it, its perfectibility being an objective law for its development.

I agree with the statements of Babut and others, that practice has to some extent outdistanced us, insofar as our political system has--if I may say so--developed, asserted, and confirmed its values and worth, while we, as researchers, still owe this evolution theoretical analyses, papers, discussions, and detailed examinations, specifically in order to draw conclusions about the manner in which it has developed, as well as to obtain a better understanding and prepare the increasingly efficient operation of this system.

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ROMANIA

ARTICLE ON FAMILY PLANNING IN CLUJ JOURNAL REVIEWED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 20, 20 Oct 82 p 42

[Article by Simion Buia]

[Text] No 7/1982 of Cluj KORUNK journal -- issued in Hungarian by the council for socialist culture and education -- carries a lengthy survey by Gusztav Heredi on some principles of demographic policy applied in various countries.

Pointing out that the implementation in Western Europe of the "family planning" principle has generated a disastrous demographic situation, resulting in population aging in some strongly developed countries, that the practice of legalized abortion in some countries ends more lives than the lives ended in the bloodiest years of the last world war, the author states that the most critical situation in this regard exists in Austria, West Germany, East Germany, Sweden, Finland, England, Switzerland, Belgium and other countries. A dwindling birth rate also exists in France, Spain and Portugal, which until recently placed among "virile" countries, and in Italy, only in the southern region there is a modest natural increase. The demographic situation in many of these countries is characterized by heavy increase in the inactive generations of elderly people and reduction -- far beyond the lower allowable limits -- of younger generations. The homes for aged people and hospitals are overcrowded while the schools, villages remain deserted and ample agricultural lands lie untilled.

Gusztav Heredy notes that, of course, the proponents of the "family planning" principle had a totally different intention, but liberalization, legalization of abortion produced unexpected results, with most baneful socioeconomic consequences. The advantages of this kind of "planning" were evidenced only in countries where the unprecedented demographic explosion generated incommensurable socioeconomic complications. In Europe (and in countries of other continents) "family planning" results in actual estrangement, placing "preliminary material security" above happiness and having and raising children. Consequently, one-third of families in European countries do not have and do not want children (women become sterile following abortions), one-third have one offspring and only one-third have two or more children.

Without taking into consideration the great differences that exist in the economic situation of the various countries, the advocates of the concept on limiting birth rates continue their propaganda indiscriminately, speaking and writing about shortage of places in day nurseries and kindergartens, housing shortage or lack of opportunities for assertion for women, hinting that all the socioeconomic ills are caused by the presence of many children in families. Some sociologists state that

it is possible to assure a high quality of life also in the context of demographic decline, by corresponding increase in labor productivity, that, even if they are few, young people -- the most active factor in the national economy -- can produce the assets required for the prosperity of all the people. However, the author states, these concepts are invalidated by the incontestably negative experience of some countries with a high labor productivity but with a vertiginous aging of the population. The shortage of young workers would have had serious economic consequences in West Germany, England, Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark and other developed Western countries had they not resorted to the millions of workers "imported" from abroad.

The conclusion that can be drawn from the survey under review is that maintenance and upgrading of the quality of life significantly depend on the age structure of the population, on the active-productive presence of young people. In this context, Gusztav Heredi maintains that "family planning", in terms of giving up having children or limiting their number is, under certain conditions, a harmful trend and procedure. The author opts for a realistic and constructive demographic policy, that combines the measures to upgrade social well-being with restrictions on abortions. Without limiting abortions, the measures to protect the family are ineffective, the author says. Of course, it is no less true that simply administrative measures, also, do not produce lasting results in terms of increasing the birth rate, but combined with appropriate social measures they can be successful. A positive example in this area is provided by the demographic policy of socialist Romania. In the last 15 years, our country's population has increased significantly and shows a biological rejuvenation and regeneration.

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FEDERAL PROSECUTOR DISCUSSES POLITICAL, ECONOMIC CRIME

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 20 Nov 82 SEDAM DANA supplement pp 4-5

[Interview with Milos Bakic, federal public prosecutor, by Maja Miles; date and place not specified]

[Text] Milos Bakic, federal public prosecutor, speaks of political and economic criminals, the drive for false investments and about theses that have corrupted the entire judicial system.

Milos Bakic has been federal public prosecutor for only a few months; prior to that he was the province public prosecutor for Vojvodina. The situation that met him in that position can most gently be labeled "complex." That was one of the reasons for this conversation.

[Question] Recently there has been talk that the boundary between economic crime and political crime is being "diluted," that there are criminal acts that are economic, but which are of political significance.

[Answer] When economic crime grows to the point that it seriously threatens certain social relationships, then certainly in some ways it approaches political crime. It cannot be denied that economic crime affects the stability of the economic situation, while an unstable economic situation with absolute certainty benefits the political enemy. This is the "kindred relationship." But that is where it ends. To be precise, I am not by any means in favor of branding economic criminals with a political brand, for they are after all classic criminals, common thieves, and that is the way they should be treated. Politically they have another manner of treatment in the world that is reflected by international conventions and it is well known that the classic criminals as a rule are extradited to the country in which they committed their crimes, while that is not true for political violations.

Criminals Under the Cloak of Politics

[Question] Do you want to say that it would actually pay economic criminals to be treated like political ones?

[Answer] Sometimes I think that it would. Incidentally, we have very fresh examples. Some common criminals who simply stole government money are now trying to pass themselves as political enemies, for obviously that would enable them to avoid extradition.

[Question] You are thinking about Durekovic?

[Answer] Yes, I am thinking about him as well. There is no doubt that it would be good if we could get some people who embezzled social property here, and who now are outside the country as if they were practically political refugees. Unfortunately, that will rescue some of them.

[Question] What about bad investments? Could someone have been held criminally accountable for them? I do not remember a single such case.

[Answer] It is probable that in many cases of bad investments there is a factor of criminal action in unconscious operations, but actually, so far it has been rare for the prosecutor's office to receive criminal complaints or to undertake its own criminal investigation in such cases. In general we have not only failed to reach the point where we can hold someone responsible for investment failures, we cannot even do it politically. That is probably partly because of the fact that it is hard to establish who the one or ones in the whole chain of various structures and various people are who participated in making decisions. Thus, it is difficult to identify those responsible in either the first or the second instance.

#### Investment Failures

[Question] Is the public prosecutor's office working to examine situations where we know reliably that there have been unsuccessful investments?

[Answer] This is being done, but not to a degree that would be sufficient to uncover all those who should be held criminally responsible. You see, right now we have a very concrete example of that. Three factories were built to produce "mediapan" building stone, two in Serbia and one in Montenegro. They operated with such losses and made such bad investments that it was simply hard to see how they could recover. The Serbian public prosecutor's office is working on those cases now. As long as we are discussing such things, I would like to mention the following: Today in situations like this the public prosecutor's office must make maximum use of its right and duties to start actions on its own, without criminal complaints, on the basis of its own information. In that regard the offices have been rather inert up to now, but there is no doubt that we will have to make increasing use of all possible sources of information on criminal actions, including the press and in general all public media. Now, for example, in the Medenica case, the Belgrade public prosecutor was the one who without any complaint initiated the criminal procedure.

[Question] That is rather remarkable. Why didn't the republic self-management interest community for health care make the complaint, since Medenica swindled that agency out of many millions (it is heard currently that the total was about 130 million).



[Answer] Commissions were formed in both the city and the republic, which were to determine all the circumstances in the case of embezzlement of the resources of health organizations, but the length of time they were taking to do their work prompted the prosecutor to initiate the procedure himself, without waiting either for them or for the self-management interest community for health insurance.

[Question] The public has the notion that the "big fish" are untouchable in our society as elsewhere. Businessmen and other men of power have powerful friends, or at least they can bring the onus of doubt onto some powerful and important people who have patronized them, or for whom they have done "little favors." These are actually accusations that in large part are directed at the prosecutors.

[Answer] Listen, the blame for that falls in large part on the rumors. I can see the enemy in those rumors. I want to say that perhaps there have been isolated cases of protectionism and what you call "untouchability," but to the degree that some would suggest, with certainty it does not exist.

#### Reversed Interventions

[Question] Does that mean that that is truly a non-existing phenomenon here that can be ignored?

[Answer] Naturally, I cannot confirm that. In my personal experience, I have not seen the intervention you are thinking about, nor did I hear of such cases during the 9 years I was the provincial public prosecutor in Vojvodina, or during the short time that I have been federal public prosecutor. Indeed, I have experienced intervention of the reverse type, in the sense that one must act toward them, i.e., toward some official as toward other citizens, and not that the prosecutor's office has been deflected from prosecuting some, as you called the, "big fish." I understand that to mean that position cannot be either an aggravating or an alleviating circumstance, for all citizens must be equal before the law, and especially before criminal law.

[Question] Thus, in practice there is no "political immunity?"

[Answer] In principle none.

[Question] In principle?

[Answer] Yes, here and there, naturally, in local cases, it is possible.

[Question] I believe that you do not say this by chance, this "local." In smaller environments it is certainly easier to achieve that than on, for example, the level of the republic or a large city. The centers of power certainly function more strongly on a local level.

[Answer] Well, let us be completely open: here and there there certainly are some pressures. I believe that it is more difficult for prosecutors in

smaller locations. Sometimes an atmosphere of pressure is created there, if not direct pressure as such. That can, for example, happen relatively often with economic violations, such as when it is a matter of the responsibility of a labor organization and the responsible people within it, and particularly when unlawfully gained profit must be reclaimed. At times billions of dinars can be involved, so that it is no surprise that it happens that an atmosphere is created where in the prosecutor is apparently the one who is undermining a labor organization along with all its workers, if he insists on reclaiming that money. I cannot assert that in such situations it has never happened that the prosecutor has second thoughts, but now we have reached the point where such cases must be pursued without exception, even if in some cases that seems to be absurd. If that is the case, let those responsible change the regulations that lead us into absurd situations, because we are obliged to pursue such cases and that is our exclusive responsibility.

(Un)corrupted Administration of Justice

[Question] Recently there has been much talk about the fact that our courts, and in general, judicial agencies or the personnel in them, are corrupted. There is talk, not just on the street but in republic assemblies, when the status in administering justice is debated, about the collusion of judges and lawyers, the verdicts that lie in drawers awaiting the statute of limitations, verdicts that are purchased and judges who have their price.

[Answer] Well, I, from my point of view, can only say that I do not know of such cases.

[Question] You do not know about such concrete instances?

[Answer] No, again that would not be accurate. I am not saying that there are no such cases, here and there, but that it isn't a "phenomenon." In the final instance, it is known that we convicted a judge in Macedonia and one in eastern Serbia, and also a prosecutor in Hercegovina (as far as I know that is the only prosecutor so convicted in the past 20 years). All of them were tried for accepting bribes, while the prosecutor not only received bribes but also collected blackmail. Those, however, are the only cases I know about. Therefore I really cannot accept that that is a phenomenon or a characteristic of our judicial system, even though recently we have been hearing such assessments. I think precisely the opposite. In that regard our judicial system itself condemns it and very rigorously deals with it. I can also say that all of these assessments have been received very unfavorably in judicial circles and have caused real depression. They bring great harm to the judicial system precisely at a time when it is of special importance in the society, with a very difficult assignment. It is totally improper to burden it now with such assessments, when it must confront major problems. It reduces its effectiveness and consequently weakens its reputation. As the federal prosecutor, I have recently experienced after those articles that people have even written to me to point out what they have read, that you can buy judges and the like. I simply cannot accept that assessment, for in both criminal and civil law we have a two-stage procedure for decisions involving many people, judges, prosecutors and defenders or representatives of plaintiffs,

so that it is objectively difficult to obtain some illegal verdict through bribes. It is impossible to bribe all those people.

Whether friendship and similar influences can be brought to bear on the judicial system is hard to say, and there I would be a little more cautious in my evaluation. That is certainly a more widespread phenomenon than bribery. Influences of the locale, family and the like perhaps exist, although I am convinced that most of the judicial system is completely immune even from them. Concerning collusion between judges and attorneys, including prosecutors, I would say that that is completely unknown to me. Finally, if those attorneys, prosecutors and judges are doing the same job, isn't it normal that they have some personal contacts? But that something black can be concluded from that, such as that they work together to collude in some illegal verdicts, is hard for me to accept.

[Question] I would, however, still return to so-called smaller environments. Isn't there a much greater danger of dependence between judges and prosecutors in such places?

[Answer] Well, naturally it is difficult to prove the opposite. In smaller locales it is certainly more complicated just by the fact that communications between people are more intensive. The whole status question regarding the election of judges and the appointment of prosecutors is being resolved in opstina assemblies. Naturally, that is a component part of our system, and in general I am not inclined to dispute the value of such decisions, although there is no doubt that at times they can have their negative consequences.

[Question] On the independence of the judicial system?

[Answer] Yes, although I would not put it quite so crudely. I think that those are still exceptional cases.

How Many Political Prisoners Are There?

[Question] We are often criticized abroad, as well as at home, even in petitions, that we are the country with the most criminal political crimes stipulated in the criminal code, with extremely severe penalties, including the death penalty, and that we have the most political prisoners among all the civilized countries.

[Answer] It is true that for some criminal acts with a political stamp the Criminal Code includes the death penalty, but that is only for the most severe forms, when the commission of the crime resulted in the death of one or more people and the like. But in the past 30 years only once such execution has been carried out, the one of Hrkac.

In general the best answer to this question is to cite numbers. In the first 6 months of last year we had 421 indictments for criminal political acts. Of those the prosecutor's office rejected 88, left 31 unresolved, and arraigned 237. Last year a total of 594 persons were arraigned. If the national makeup

interests you, there were 386 Albanians, 78 Croats, 72 Serbs, 19 Muslims, 17 Slovenes, 11 Montenegrins, 2 Macedonians, one Hungarian and 7 "others," as well as one foreigner. Also of importance is the fact that the most severe forms of criminal political acts accounted for 257 cases last year (such as conspiring against the people and the state and other severe crimes, while more moderate crimes, which on our domestic scale of crimes includes enemy propaganda accounted for 138, and moderate and the least serious crimes, for 199.

The events in Kosovo had a great deal of impact on these statistics, as can be seen by a comparison of 1980 and 1981. Acts of enemy propaganda have doubled. In contrast, for 1981 there were only 58 arraignments for criminal acts harming the reputation of Yugoslavia, while in 1980 there were 214. That figure was again connected with the death of President Tito, largely connected with his personality.

Why do I present these numbers? Because I think that they are the best way to counter that propaganda that comes both from abroad and from without our country. These really are not significant numbers. Political crimes make up only 0.47 percent of total crimes. Among 22 million inhabitants, to prosecute only 490 people in a year like 1981, with everything that happened in Kosovo, what is that? Does that really speak of some frightful persecution, as they want to show? Naturally not, although we consider that even that number is serious, i.e., that the social danger of those acts is great, particularly when we keep in mind the social values that are being protected, and also keeping in mind that which I said previously about the momentary situation in the country and the international political situation.

#### We Are Not Trying the Friends of This Country

[Question] You mentioned the criminal act of enemy propaganda. In criticism from abroad, as well as in petitions that have received much attention recently in our own press, this type of crime is treated as particularly problematic. To be precise, it is asserted that the portion that relates to "malicious and untrue presentation of conditions in the country" should not be regarded at all as incriminating, for that is an offense of opinion, in which it is difficult, or as some say impossible, to prove either malice or "untruth."

[Answer] Well you know, I would put it this way: I do not know of a case where someone has been convicted for enemy propaganda who was actually a friend of this country. They have all been enemies and that has also been proved. It is true that it is difficult to prove such an act, yet I have neither seen nor heard of someone being convicted who had not been proved to have committed the act maliciously, or who had not been shown with specific malice to have made untrue statements about our country. It is clear that every untruth cannot be enemy propaganda, yet that is why the prosecutor is there; he must prove both malice and slander. Naturally, the court must also uphold the law. If, for example, someone says that some republic or province is being exploited constantly and the like, and the circumstances in which he expressed that, the manner and his own personality indicate that there was an intention by the assertion of such untruths to bring domestic harm and provide material for someone else to think and speak against us, then certainly

that is not normal criticism, which naturally is permitted in this society. In the times in which we live, such incriminations must be made, in my firm opinion. I see neither the possibility nor any reason to change that. Our enemies criticize us because of it, but they actually interpret it incorrectly, and then wish to show how we limit freedom of thought by law. Thus that is not an offense of opinion, but active enemy attacks directed at such values in our society as brotherhood and unity, the socialist self-management order and the like.

I think it is too bad when such rumors are spread by someone who is otherwise well-intentioned, yet that too can happen. Let he who is an enemy think what he wants, that does not disturb me in the least. For example, we are bombarded by some circles abroad with mighty interventions and criticism of this type, but I can't find any way to perceive their good intentions, nor to accept that there is some humanitarian idea that directs their activities.

[Question] Their intervention is frequent?

[Answer] Yes, quite frequent.

[Question] Where are they aiming?

[Answer] In those interventions they chiefly express untruths. They speak of the conditions under which sentences are implemented in Yugoslavia, but their statements have no relation to the real state of affairs. They say, for example, that we keep sick people in jail without providing treatment. That is unbelievable, the more so since our reformatories are open, so much so that they have even been visited by foreign delegations, which were thus in a position to attest that the above assertion simply is not so.

I personally cannot remember a single such example when those circles showed good intentions toward anyone, although some assure me that they can be quite "just," depending on the country they are treating. I am only interested in what they say about Yugoslavia, and all of that is completely hostile. I don't know why, but it is not difficult to perceive that. Yugoslavia bothers many people.

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